ON THE INTENTION

OF THE

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT

TO UNITE THE

PROVINCES OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA,

AND

A REVIEW OF SOME EVENTS

WHICH TOOK PLACE DURING

THE SESSION OF THE PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT IN 1854 IN QUEBEC.

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PREFACE.

The publication of this work, has chiefly originated from the following circumstances :

Public opinion, as to the conduct of the Honorable Legislative Council of the Province, having of late years, from various causes, sunk to a very low ebb, so much so, that the Honorable House of Assembly was at length led to propose and carry out the very extraordinary measure, namely, that the constitution of that branch of the Legislature should be shorn of the high honor it had hitherto possessed, of being nominated by mandamus of the Crown, and that it should be now rendered elective.

The author of the present work, feeling, and being convinced that any deficiency in the energy and zeal of the Legislative Council of the present day, is not a sufficient reason for depriving the future of the Province of a constitution which had been founded on the well tried one of the British Nation, and which has hitherto preserved the union of these Provinces with the powerful empire of Great Britain, and thereby secured the permanency of their prosperity under that constitution.

The author proposes, therefore, in this work, to support these opinions, and to shew in what manner the Legislative Council could be brought sufficiently under the influence of public opinion, without depriving it and the Province of the high honor it has hitherto possessed of being nominated by the Crown. This forms the first part of this work.

The second part contains the plan for the future representation of all the British North American Provinces in the British House of Commons, which the author believes the present advanced and advancing condition of the Provinces requires, would be the most conducive to their welfare, and would meet the wishes of both sections of the Province.

The third part of the work consists of remarks on the Hon. Francis Hincks' answer to the Hon. Joseph Howe's plan for the representation of these Colonies in the Imperial Parliament, and also remarks on the conclusion of the war with Russia.

I now conclude this preface with observing that perhaps the reader, after duly considering the ideas we have brought forward in this work, shewing the high advantages a modified representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament would confer on them, may consider the idea a good one, it having been also sanctioned by every party in the House of Commons of Great Britain at the time of the Reform Bill, and by some of the highest authorities ; and I myself, certainly believe, and not only does the present advanced and advancing state of these Colonies justly claim such a measure, but that none would tend more to promote the strength and security of the empire and its vast dominions.

PART I.

A review of some important events which have taken place in the Honorable House of Assembly of United Canada, in its Session of 1854 *in Quebec.*

Since the publication of the second edition of my last work on the Present Condition of United Canada, Toronto, 1850, the Clergy Reserves have been secularized by the Legislative Assembly of the Province. In that second edition I stated my ideas on that subject, and in pages 182–3 I stated that—

"At all events, should it be made apparent to the Provincial Legislature, in the case of the question of the Reserves being re-referred to them, that the quantity of land is greatly more than sufficient for the due maintenance of the Protestant religion, would it not be just and proper to leave as much of these Reserves in the hands, and for the service of the Protestant Churches, as the Provincial Parliament, should in its wisdom deem sufficient for that purpose? But to deprive these Churches entirely of every provision for their maintenance would, it appears to me, be a most serious attack and obstruction on the religious practice of a very great part of the Province.

"I have now only to remark on this long pending and vexed question of the Clergy Reserves, which has occasioned so much irritation among the various sects of Protestants, that it appears to me to furnish a very powerful argument in favor of the plan I have proposed in the first edition of that work, to these various sects, and to their respective Clergies, namely, the calling of a convocation of these last, for the purpose of trying 'whether such modifications of their various creeds and forms of Church Government could not be effected, so that one great national Protestant Faith and Government might be established?'"

I have now only to add on this subject, that it is possible that had the Church of England taken up some such plan, as I have recommended in that work, for the formation of a National Union of Protestants, I have little doubt that many of the other Protestant sects would have joined in the endeavor to produce such a Union of all Protestant Churches, and in that case I say it is possible that the secularization might have been prevented.

The secularization of these lands has taken place from two causes: first, from the large quantity of land, suffered for so many years to remain unimproved, and thereby to occasion much inconvenience to the settled parts of the country for want of roads through it; and secondly, (by the unceasing endeavors by persons inimical to those Churches for whom these lands were reserved, or otherwise from political motives), to excite the people to seek this secularization.

It is true, indeed, that a popular idea has prevailed in the Province, that the proceeds of these Reserves has been applied to erect Churches and to supply Clergy to some communities who could afford to do so of themselves, and that this was not according to the real design of the Royal appropriation. How well founded this idea may have been, I am unable to say, but, as it is certain the original intention of the donation of lands by Geo. III. was to supply those congregations who should be unable to do so themselves, I hold it therefore as positively consistent with justice, that such portion of these Reserves as would be required to enable such congregations to be duly supported, should have been held intact and sacred, from all invasion; and moreover, I feel convinced that a great majority of the good and respectable people of this Province would coincide in this opinion.

As it is, one branch of the Legislature has secularized all of these Reserves, absolutely designed for that pious purpose, without providing for such congregations or bodies of people, who may be hereafter found totally unable to provide Clergy or places of worship for themselves—namely, poor emigrants,

coming to the Province ; and, as to one miserable argument I have heard on the subject, namely, that there was no direct Grant, I say, as there was a direct and positive Reserve of one-seventh of the lands for the purpose of aiding the Protestant Churches, it superseded the necessity of any Grant from the then owner of the lands, namely, the Crown of Great Britain.

Now we have yet another branch of the Legislature for immediate reference to on this subject, namely, the Legislative Council. This Council has, indeed, fallen low, very low in public opinion of late years, though in former times they have boldly supported their rights of legislation. We have now to see whether they will do so on the present occasion, and whether the rights of religion will find in them true defenders.

As a friend to these rights, and as I hope—a true born Canadian—I shall here exercise my right to give my opinion that the Council should not pass that Bill for secularizing the Reserves without an amendment, to the effect that those congregations or bodies of Protestant subjects, who could prove they are not competent to erect Churches or Chapels, or to maintain a Clergy for the purpose of divine service in them, shall be enabled so to do by proceeds of these Clergy Reserves.

In my work on the Present Condition of United Canada, Toronto, 1850, I have addressed the Clergy of the Church of England, and of all other sects of Protestants, on the subject of establishing a convocation of all Protestant Churches, for the great purpose of forming a National Union of all of them, by ascending to the source and fountain head of Chistianity, and founding a National Protestantism on the simple and sublime words of the Saviour alone, without recurrence to any other authority whatever. I have stated in that work, that I did not believe the reformation complete without this National Union of the Churches ; that with it the reformation would be perfect and durable, and that by those transcendent minds who should be found to have capacity and zeal to enable them to effect this great purpose, a

fame would be acquired, as great if not superior to that of the founders of the reformed religion itself.

Now we find by some of the English prints, there is a design of calling a convocation of the Church of England, but that alone would not effect the accomplishment of the great purpose I contemplate, unless they invited the other Protestant Churches to combine with her in the great attempt. She has not yet done so, and therefore I now appeal to the Church of England in Canada, to call a convocation for this great purpose.

The Church of England ministers, for many years, have suffered much annoyance by the animosity of other sects of Protestants. Now, whether the Bill for secularizing the Clergy Reserves passes or not into law, it appears to me a most favorable opportunity for forming such a convocation, and thereby endeavoring to effect this glorious union of all Protestant Churches presents itself; for if the Bill passes into law, the inveterate source of animosity on the part of those sects will be removed, and one great cause of disunion would be overcome.

The Churches of England and Scotland should now show a willing mind to conform and carry out the real spirit of the founder of their religion, as shewn in the 17th chapter of St. John's Gospel, verse 20th: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them who believe in me through their word." And verse 21st: "That they all may be as Thou Father, art in me and I in Thee; that they also may be one of us; that the world may believe that Thou has sent me."

It appears to me, that this passage gives an undeniable proof that the Saviour contemplated and designed the unity of His Churches. All the humane and wise feelings of our nature speak in favor of such a union, and let no feelings of party spirit oppose it, for the time is come for its completion, when we find that such is the divine will, and it cannot then be opposed without a great sin.

By all the accounts I have met with for some years past, it appears to me that all sects of Protestants are well aware that it is from the unity of the

Church of Rome that it derives its power. The same unity among Protestant Churches would give them equal strength, which event would be more to their advantage than any difference of forms of worship that yet exists among them.

This day, the 9th December, 1854, it appears the Legislative Council has passed the Clergy Reserve Bill without any amendment.

By this Bill, the entire remaining body of the Clergy Reserves, which was destined by the Crown in the reign of Geo. III. for the support of the Protestant faith and practice, has been swept away, with one condition only, and made compulsory by the Imperial Parliament, that the incomes of the present incumbents should be paid them by the Provincial Government during their natural lives. The Clergy of the present day are therefore secure in that respect. But how will it be after their demise ?

The congregations of the various churches or chapels of the towns and villages will then be under the necessity of remunerating their Clergy themselves. They may perhaps be competent to do so. But what is to be the case with those bodies of poor settlers, who will be annually coming out to the Province ? The Clergy Reserves are all swept away. The congregations of the towns and villages will have enough to do to pay Clergy for themselves; and thus the poor settler who is just able to build a shanty for himself and family, must be without the means of public decent religious service.

The Legislative Council has, therefore, failed in remedying the evil, by passing this Bill without an amendment referring to the future of the Province, and insisting on a certain portion of the Reserves being retained for the purpose of assisting those poor settlers and emigrants, who may be found totally incompetent to erect places of divine worship for themselves and families.

The Council has thus entirely failed in sufficient energy to protect the just claims of the Protestant religion, which brings to my mind a conviction that some part of the institution of that Council requires a change. They are appointed by the Crown. That is

an honor to themselves and to the Province, which I consider they should not be deprived of, as I moreover believe it to be a great guarantee for the existing and happy union of the Colonies with Great Britain.

But referring to the peculiar case of this Province, I do think they should hold their stations during "good behavior only." At the same time, in order to insure the independence of this branch of the Legislature, I think that a number of members of the Council, quite sufficient for the business of the Province, should be appointed, and *that* being done, the executive should not then have the power to increase that number in order to carry any party measure.

By these means the independence of the Council would be secured, and would also be brought to a sufficient dependence on a decided majority in public opinion, for if that opinion should be found by the Crown to be decidedly against their conduct, they could be displaced.

And having been thus led by my reflections on the conduct of that Council, in not insisting on some provision being reserved in the bill for these poor settlers who will be coming out yearly, to enable them to erect proper buildings for the practice of divine worship; and, having been led also to point out how I conceive the future independence of the Council may be secured, I have now to present my opinion on a subject of perhaps greater importance.

I refer to attempts which have been for some time making to destroy the constitution of one branch of the Legislature of this Province by another branch, namely, the House of Assembly.

Now from what sort of persons this attempt has originated I am not aware; there were few if any petitions from the great body of the people on the subject, that I know of, still there may be many disposed for the measure, as a majority of the members of the House voted for it. It was well known that the estimation of that Council had sunk low, very low, in consequence of their agreeing to the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill, and their subsequent conduct has also been censured. This will possibly

account for the displeasure of a large body of the people with that Council.

But it is not by any means a sufficient reason that, because the Council of the present day have failed in their duty, that both the present and future of the Provinc should be deprived of the honor, advantages and strength of the British constitution, which in the recent requirement of the Provincial Legislature, has been extended and confirmed to them.

This British constitution has enabled Great Britain to maintain her liberties and independence for ages, in the midst of surrounding despotic nations. But this was not effected by abandoning that constitution on every internal or external attack, but by upholding and adhering to it through every difficulty.

But to my great astonishment, the British Ministry appears to have sanctioned this attempt to overthrow so important a part of the constitution of the Province. One man—and one man only, I believe—namely, the Earl of Derby appears to have foreseen and foretold in Parliament the probable effect which such an act would have. He gave his opinion that if an act were passed rendering the Council elective, it would probably cause a republican government in a few years in Canada.

It is true that the British government has agreed to let the Legislature of the Province manage its own affairs, without interference on their part, so long as that management does not affect the great interests of the empire. But, as to the constitution of the Province under which it has safely arrived at its present prosperous condition, I consider, they have no more right to destroy it, than they would have to destroy the British constitution, should any contingency arrive, to excite part of the people of England to demand it.

The value of the British constitution greatly depends upon its stability, and the persevering maintenance of that stability, and the reason why the people of England do maintain that stability is that they know it is in the nature of that constitution, that all errors or improvements respectively can be corrected or adopted by it.

So precisely, is it in this Province. I have shewn above how, in my humble opinion, the Legislative Council could be amended and brought sufficiently under the influence of public opinion, and, I trust, this safer course than the one proposed by the intended Bill, would be sanctioned by that portion of loyal and intelligent people, who, I verily believe, constitute a great and influential part of the Province.

It is therefore to be hoped, that on mature consideration, our Legislature may discover, that by a due infusion of energy and independence into that Council, it may be brought much more under the influence of a well authenticated public opinion, without depriving it and the Province of its highest honor—the nomination to its high office by the Crown as the fountain of honor.

The representatives of the people in the Provincial Parliament have before them the great question, whether the constitution of the Provinces as regards one of its branches, shall be invaded and overthrown or not. I attended at some of these debates, and I proceed to make some observations on what I heard there :

Monsieur Cauchon, I believe, began the debate.

This gentleman is charged, if I recollect, by one or more of the debaters, to have been formerly much against the overthrow of the institution of the Legislative Council.

The French inhabitants of this part of the Province, have no doubt, reason to be glad of the transfer that has been made to them of the free constitution of Great Britain, in exchange for the rather despotic power of the government of Canada when under the French dominion ; and I believe a great majority of them is grateful for the change.

But it is not to be expected that they should have the same strong attachment for the British constitution as a Briton has. This attachment of a Briton is owing to the long experience he has derived from the past history of his country. There he finds that this constitution had been for ages perverted and almost destroyed by the despotism of some of its sovereigns.

But the inmate principles and force of that constitution at length arose, and re-established itself on its present firm and unshaken basis by the glorious revolution of 1688. And it is the constant and immoveable attachment to this constitution of true liberty, which has enabled the British people to maintain that liberty against the assaults of foreign and sometimes internal foes.

And yet there was the notorious Mr. McKenzie, who during this debate, this Mr. McKenzie, who by the lenient nature of this constitution, has been permitted to return here to enjoy its blessings, after having largely assisted in their destruction,—here is this man returned to Parliament to legislate under this constitution, presuming to compare it with, and as it appeared to me, to prefer to it the constitution of the American States. Let it be noticed, however, that this constitution of the States has yet to go through many of the phases and attacks, similar perhaps to those which the British constitution has gloriously survived. It is yet to be seen whether the vast divisions in that country, one-seventh or one-eighth of its population remaining to this day in a state of slavery, whether the selfish interests and licentious manners they indulge in are not capable of destroying those qualities of the heart and mind, which can alone maintain true liberty.

The British constitution has, I say, survived these attacks and others equally great. Let not then any man compare it with the paper constitution of the States, which has yet to undergo its own trials.

In the debate, this man after vainly boasting of the great advantages conferred on the Province by the Rebellion of 1836-7, observed truly enough, that perhaps he had erred by want of patience.

Yes, if McKenzie had been as profoundly acquainted with the qualities and nature of the British constitution as he ought to have been, his attachment to that constitution would have given him and his coadjutors that patience he failed in. He would have considered that if the grievances he had complained of, and for which they were about to throw the Province into civil war—if these grievances were really

considered to be a sufficient ground of war—that there were constitutional means by which the majority of the people could have procured the redress of these grievances peaceably ; and if the majority of the people did not consider them a ground of war, which the discomfiture of that Rebellion by the people, and by the people alone, clearly proved ; then the Rebellion was wrong and liable to the dreadful consequences of producing civil war.

This same member of Parliament, in reply to Mr. Brown's assertion, that there were no petitions from the people for overthrowing the Legislative Council, was apparently much nettled at the observation, and in a violent tone of voice and manner, recapitulated the various attempts that had been made by the Legislative Assembly for this purpose. But, attempts made by the House of Assembly or parts thereof are not petitions from the people.

The people or the majority of them at least seldom petition, unless the grievances they complain of are of great and real importance to their welfare or security of their rights.

Now it is well known how gentlemen who wish to have the representation of the people in their hands, contrive to turn the complaints of a few to their own ends ; only promise to their constituents that if they allow them to represent them, all complaints shall be removed and great advantages secured to the constituency,—and the business is done.

The Hon. Hilliard Cameron, a speaker of considerable oratorical powers, said, that whatever might have been the conduct of the Legislative Council in former times, in obstructing the acts of the lower branch of the Legislature, yet since the acquisitiou of responsible government, the case with that Council was much changed, and that it was rather liable to the charge of too easy a compliance with these acts of the lower House than the reverse, which in one important instance, I trust I have above shewn to be the fact, with respect to their passing the Clergy Reserve Bill, without attempting to procure in it a clause to aid those settlers who will be annually coming

out to the Province, perhaps totally unable to build Churches or Chapels for themselves and families.

Mr. Ferrie, although professing in his speech great respect for the British constitution and for Conservative principles, proposed a plan for electing the Council, which I confess surprised me much, considering the high Tory principles he advocated, when concerned in the Montreal *Herald*, some years since, when edited by his friend Robt. Muir, and I believe, by himself since in the Montreal *Gazette*.

This plan, if I rightly understand it, was to divide the Province into six divisions, and to allow everybody who voted for the House of Assembly, to vote also for the members in the Elective Legislative Council. What could this mode of election produce but two Houses of Legislative Assembly.

The danger of such a plan was well pointed out by the famous lawyer and statesman, Lord Brougham, who cautioned the government, that if they did ratify the Bill, the qualification to vote should be much greater for the Council than for the Legislative Assembly.

For my own part, I am of opinion that when a country has obtained a constitution which has for many years secured its prosperity, it ought to be considered too sacred by its people, to be upset, especially as it can be by constitutional means reformed and amended.

On the 21st March, there was a call of the Legislative Council, on the subject of the Bill sent to them from the Lower House, for changing the constitution of the Council by rendering it elective.

I attended the meeting, and am glad to say the result was glorious for the Honorable Council; for after a long debate, in which Col. Taché, the French Canadian Minister, in a long speech, implored the Council not to pass the amendment moved by the Hon. Mr. Mathewson to postpone the reading of the Bill until the next Session, and warning them against the danger of the motion, declaring that if the amendment were carried, he would enter his protest in the Journals, so that the responsibility would rest on the Council. But, notwithstanding this threat, the Coun-

cil firmly carried the amendment, I believe, with a great majority, and, to this point, they did maintain their rights and privileges.

In his speech, Col. Taché observed that the Council would be more Conservative by Election than now, as they were now nominated by the Executive Council, who were under pressure of the House of Assembly, and that if they were in future nominated by the Governor solely, that would be contrary to what he called the Provincial Constitution giving responsible Government.

Now it is true that while the Council as it is now nominated by the Executive, may be considerably under their influence, therefore, not so independent as they ought to be ; but, if the plan I have proposed or advocated in the former part of this work, to fix on a sufficient number of members of the Council to perform the Provincial business, and, after that is done, not to allow the Executive to increase that number for carrying any particular measure, the independence of the Council would then be secured.

But there is much more to be said on the effects of the Council passing the Rebellion Losses Bill, which was the first step to that loss of public opinion by the Council. The Upper Province did not, indeed, proceed to rebellion. The Conservatives of Canada have a good deal of the horror of rebellion which was so remarkable among the Tories of the times of James 2nd in England, although the Page of History leaves no doubt that he intended to have overthrown both the religion and liberties of his people ; the Tory party continued long to maintain their objections to resistance by force, and it is astonishing to read the absurd and unceasing arguments they used to justify their nonresistance, which nothing but the ultimate, infatuated, conduct of James at length overcame, as shewn by McCaulay's beautiful History of those times.

Col. Taché may rest assured that but for this great repugnance to rebellion of that Conservative party in the Upper Province, on the passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill by the Legislature, a rising might have taken place there, to which the rebellion in the

Eastern part would have been but as a drop in the bucket. I was, at that time, an eye-witness to the public feeling. The idea that, after risking their own lives and property in defence of the Government, that that Government should consent to grant that indemnity to rebellion, produced that degree of feeling in Western Canada.

Thus, it would appear that it had more cause to complain of that Council than the Lower Province.

The misconduct of the Council of the present day, however great, is no just reason, why it and the Province should be, on that account, deprived of the advantages and honors of the constitution granted to it, and under which it has signally thrived.

I myself, remember when a boy, that Upper Canada then consisted almost entirely of woods, rocks and lakes. There was a small settlement at Kingston or Cataraqui, of French people, and another along the banks of the Thames, as may be seen by Guthrie's Geographical Grammar, at the years 1785-6.

Now it has been observed, by certain persons in their public speeches of late, that there can never be an aristocracy in Canada. I should consider *a priori*, that those who suppose so are not only democrats, and unfriendly to the British constitution, but that they must be entirely ignorant of the human mind in society.

There can be no country on earth where there exists not some species of aristocracy. Examine the society of the United States, who really seem to believe themselves to possess the only country where Freedom exists in perfection, and there, do we not behold the worst kind of aristocracy, that of money, at least I have never heard it denied to exist there.

The fact is, that any twelve men could not assemble to discuss political or other subjects, but you will soon discover among them, the germs of the aristocracy of the mind.

This is a gift of nature to the individual, or more frequently acquired by him by superior education and consequent reflection. The first wants of man being obtained, namely, sufficiency of good food, clothing and housing, he proceeds, by patient indus-

try, to acquire the means of enjoying the comforts and luxuries of life. Having obtained these, he naturally seeks to obtain civil honors among his fellows citizens. The mind in all stages of its existence must be employed, and fortunate it is, for the society he lives in, that instead of confining himself to the mere acquisition of wealth, his desire of elevation, natural to the human mind, leads him to seek those honors which public talents and opinion can procure for him.

This is what I consider the true formation and origin of aristocracy in a young country ; and to suppose that these generous and noble ideas can never exist in such a country as Canada, is an unmerited degradation of its character, its patriotism, and its intelligence.

The Legislative Council has, in answer to the opening speech of Lord Elgin, on the subject of the constitution of that Council, acknowledged their assent that improvements in it will be required, and to which they would duly attend.

I have above given my ideas, how these improvements could be effected, without depriving the Council and the Province of the honors of the British constitution.

One chief objection to this Council, with a considerable part of the population is, that it is not sufficiently under the influence of public opinion. But, by rendering the members of it, who shall be hereafter appointed by the Crown, enabled to hold their seats in that Council only " during good behaviour,"—a sufficient influence of public opinion must ensue, because should it be found that the Council opposed and prevented measures manifestly for the public good, then the unanimous voice of the country being duly made known to the Crown and its executive on the subject, the Legislative Council could then be removed from power.

It was, therefore, with great satisfaction I found, that the Hon. Legislative Council had shewn firmness and wisdom sufficient, to resist the attempts of the lower branch of the Legislature, to deprive them and the Province of the honors the British constitution

had conferred on them, by deferring the present consideration of the hostile Bill.

It has moreover been said, by some advocates for this radical change in the Legislative Council, that under responsible Government it is not from the Crown members receive their nomination, but from the existing Ministry, who may have a majority in the House of Assembly. But the government and his executive are impowered *by the Crown, under mandamus* to make that nomination.

Now, in order to prevent the effect of undue influence of this executive over the independence of the Legislative Council, I have proposed above, that a certain number of members for the due transaction of business of the Province being thus appointed ; that *that number* should not be allowed to be increased by any Ministry ; and, I conclude this subject by stating my humble opinion, that the members of the Council should be recommended by the government and his executive to the Crown, to be nominated by its mandamus "during pleasure," in order, as shewn above, how that Council may be brought under sufficient influence of a well ascertained public opinion.

Since the above was written, it appears that the Council, in an ensuing Session, has actually passed the Bill for rendering themselves elective. They have thus, in my opinion, given up their highest honor ; for the Crown, by our British constitution, is the *fountain of honor*.

PART II.

I now proceed to the consideration of the supposed intention of the Imperial Government to form a federal union of all the British North American Provinces.

And, having considered this subject many years since, and the arguments and plans for this purpose of many eminent English authors, I shall first present in this work, a part of these arguments for the reader's information; shall notice an idea, conceived by some persons in this Province, of a general government of all the North American Provinces, to be carried on in some part of Canada; and then endeavor to shew, that by far the most eligible plan would be to have representatives deputed from the various Legislatures of the Province, to sit and vote in the House of Commons on all subjects in which the welfare and interest of the Provinces may be concerned, and whereby their present state may be elevated to those honors and consideration in the Parent Country, which their advanced and advancing condition entitle them.

EXTRACT FROM "CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION OF CANADA."—CHAPTER V.

A consideration of a Representative Union of all the British North American Provinces and the Parent State, by representatives chosen by the separate Legislatures of each Province, to sit in the Imperial Parliament, as an efficient means of securing the permanent Union of those Colonies with Great Britain and their ultimate advancement.

In the fifth page of our preface I have stated that about the year 1822, in an article I then published in the Montreal *Herald*, "I first mentioned the idea to the public, of the necessity that would probably arise

for a representative union of these North American Colonies with the Parent State," and I engaged to resume the subject at a future period; and I have also stated in that preface what took place between Mr. Joseph Hume, M. P. and myself on this important subject, to which I beg leave to refer the reader.

During the thirty years which have elapsed since the above mentioned year, the very serious events which have lately taken place in these Provinces have all, in my opinion, been gradually proving the necessity of a closer union with the Parent State, and I have now to redeem the pledge I then gave on this important subject.

And in order to introduce the subject properly to the reader's attention and in proof of its importance, I shall first make some extracts from previous writers of eminence on this subject, in Great Britain; and following them up with such observations as they present, I shall then present the plan of such representation as has appeared to me most practicably suited for these Provinces, supported by the arguments which in my humble opinion may serve to call the public attention, and that of the British Government, to the formation of this Union, as an efficient means of securing their permanent connection with G. Britain and her Colonies independence.

The first writer we shall quote is Governor Pownal, some account of whom is given by Mr. Chisholm, of this City, in his well written and meritorious work, entitled, Observations on the Rights of the British Colonies to Representation in the British Parliament.

"Of the advocates (he says of this salutary and constitutional measure) the first and best was Governor Pownal, no common man, one who had served his country in the Colonies, both in a civil and military capacity long and faithfully, and who almost on every occasion, both foresaw and foretold the result of that fatal policy adopted in his time with respect to the Colonies."

The Governor's scheme was as follows, in his own words:

"It is therefore the duty of those who govern us to carry forward this state of things to the weaving

of this load into our system, that Great Britain may be no more considered as the kingdom of this Isle only with many appendages of provinces, colonies, settlements and other extraneous parts, but a *Grand Marine Dominion, consisting of our Possessions in the Atlantic and in America united into one Empire, in one centre where the seat of Government is.*

" If it should be thought difficult and hazardous to extend the Legislative rights, privileges and pre-eminences, the true imperium of Government, to wheresoever the dominion of the same extends, the administration must be content to go on in this ptolemaic system of policy as long as the various centres and systems shall preserve their due order and subordination, or to speak in a more opposite idea, if we would keep the bases of the realm confined to this Island, while we extend the superstructure, by extending our dominions, we shall invert the pyramid (as Sir William Temple expresses it) and must in time subvert the Government itself. If we choose to follow the example of the Romans, we must expect to follow their fate; would statesmen on the other hand doubt the predetermined modes which artificial systems prescribed, would they dare to look for truth in the nature of things, they would soon adopt what is right, as founded upon fact. They would be naturally led into the true system of government, by following with the powers of the state, where the actual and real powers of the system of things lead to. They would see that by the various and actual interconnections of the different parts of British Dominions, throughout the Atlantic and in America, by the intercommunion and reciprocation of their alternate wants and supplies, by the combination and subordination of their several interests and powers, by the circulation of their commerce, revolving in an orbit which hath Great Britain for its centre; that there doth exist in fact, in nature a real union and incorporation of all these parts of the British Dominions, an actual system of dominion, which wants only to be avowed and actuated by the real spirit in which it moves and has its being; by that spirit from which the British Government hath arisen to what it is; by the spirit

of extending the basis of its representative legislature, through all the parts to wheresoever the rights, interests or power of its dominions extend, so as to form (I cannot too often inculcate the idea,) *a Grand Marine Dominion, consisting of our possessions in the Atlantic and in America, united into one Empire, in one centre where the seat of Government is.*"

So far we have given Governor Pownal's opinion on this great subject, and we have to remark on his first and second paragraphs, that he has there struck out a very strong and impressive argument in favour of the Union of the Colonies with Great Britain, "a Grand Marine Dominion, consisting of our possessions in the Atlantic and in America, united into one Empire, in one centre where the seat of Government is."

The conclusion he draws in subsequent parts of his discourse it is true, was meant to apply to the system of laws and trade, as then relating to all the old Colonies; and although the same extent of evil effects might not ensue from them with respect to the present North American Colonies, still, the same argument will serve to prove that much good will result to both Colonies and Parent State, from a Union, and, that the evils foretold by Governor Pownal may be prevented thereby from arising in future.

The opinion of so respectable a person as Governor Pownal appears to have been, is of much weight in favour of the Union of the Colonies that still remain to Great Britain, yet as the principle, his plan of union is based upon, appears to be that the Colonies, after being united to the British Parliament are then to be subject to Taxation by it, and as that principle is diametrically opposed to the plan of Union, I have all along contemplated as the one most suitable to, and consistent with the present Provincial constitution, and indeed, with the capabilities of these Provinces, and as we shall shortly introduce this plan to the reader's consideration, we shall defer our observations on the principle of this taxation to that period.

We shall now extract from the profound author of the "Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith, a part of his opinions on the Union of the Colonies by representa-

tion in the Parliament of Great Britain. This great author is thus described by his biographer, Dugald Stuart: "He has not only extended the boundaries of science, but enlightened and reformed the commercial policy of Europe."

It is true it has been said, "that the practical experience of modern times has corrected and modified some of the theoretical positions of this great economist," but I have little doubt that by far the greater part of the profound commercial truths he has developed, will never be controverted, but that being founded on the nature of things, they will derive conformation from increasing experience; and, in the well merited praise of his system of political economy, I beg leave here to quote the remark made by Lord Kenyon, at a trial which came before him in the King's Bench; several extracts were made by the Counsellor in the case, from works on political economy, written since Mr. Smith's "Wealth of Nations." His Lordship said, he had read Adam Smith's work and he had read all the works on that subject, since his time, and that he found them all Adam Smith, *hashed up*.

We now proceed to the extract from this great work.

"Towards the declension of the Roman Republic," says Mr. Smith, "the Allies of Rome, who had borne the principal burthen of defending the State and extending the Empire, demanded to be admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizens; upon being refused, the social war broke out. During the course of that war, Rome granted those privileges to the greater part of them, one by one, and in proportion as they detached themselves from the general Confederacy."

The Parliament of Great Britain, insists upon taxing the Colonies, and they refuse to be taxed by a Parliament in whom they are not represented. If to each Colony which would detach itself from the general confederacy, Great Britain should allow such a number of Representatives as suited the proportion of what it contributed to the public revenue of the Empire, in consequence of its being subjected to the

same taxes, and in compensation admitted to the same freedom of trade with its fellow subjects at home; the number of its Representatives to be augmented as the proportion of its contributions might afterwards augment; a new method of acquiring importance, a new and more dazzling object of ambition would be presented to the leading men of each Colony. Instead of peddling for the little prizes which are to be found in what may be called the paltry raffle of a Colony faction, they may then hope from the presumption which men naturally have in their own ability and good fortune, to draw some of the great prizes which sometimes come from the whole of the great state lottery of British politics. Unless this, or some other, method is fallen upon, and there seem to be none more obvious than this of preserving the importance and of gratifying the ambition of the leading men in America, it is not very probable that they will ever voluntarily submit to us, and we ought to consider that the blood which must be shed in forcing them to do so is, every drop of it—the blood—either of those who are, or of those whom we wish to have for our fellow citizens. They are very weak who flatter themselves, that in this state to which things are come, our Colonies will be easily conquered by force alone. The persons who now govern the resolutions of what they call their Continential Congress, feel in themselves at this moment a degree of importance which perhaps the greatest subjects in Europe scarce feel. From shopkeepers, tradesmen and attorneys, they are become Statesmen and Legislators, and are employed in contriving a new form of government for an extensive Empire, which they flatter themselves will become, and which indeed seems very likely to become one of the greatest and most formidable that ever was in the world. Five hundred different people perhaps, who in different ways act immediately under the Continential Congress, and five hundred thousand perhaps, who act under those five hundred, all feel in the same manner, a proportionable rise in their own importance. Almost every individual of the governing party in America fills, at present, in his own fancy, a station

superior, not only to what he had ever filled before, but to what he had ever expected to fill, and unless some new object of ambition is presented either to him or to his leaders, if he has the ordinary spirit of a man, he will die in defence of that station.

It is a remark of the President Hanault, that we now read with pleasure, the account of many transactions of the Ligue, which when they happened were not considered as very important pieces of news, but every man then says, he fancied himself of some importance, and the innumerable memoirs which came down to us from those times were, the greatest part of them, written by people who took pleasure in recording and magnifying events, in which they flattered themselves they had been considerable actors. How obstinately the city of Paris, on that occasion, defended itself, and what a dreadful famine it supported, rather than submit to the best, and afterwards the most beloved of all the French Kings, is well known. The greatest part of the citizens or those who governed the greatest part of them, fought in defence of their own importance, which they foresaw was to be at an end, whenever the ancient Government should be re-established. Our Colonies, unless they can be induced to consent to a Union, are very likely to defend themselves against the best of all mother countries as obstinately as the city of Paris did against one of the best Kings.

"The idea of representation was unknown in ancient times. When the people of one State were admitted to the right of citizenship in another, they had no other means of exercising their right but by coming in a body to vote and deliberate with the people of that other State."

The admission of a greater part of the Inhabitants of Italy to the privileges of Roman citizens, completely ruined the Roman Republic. It was no longer possible to distinguish between who was and who was not a Roman citizen. No tribe could know its own members, a rabble of any kind could be introduced into the assemblies of the people, could drive out the real citizens, and decide upon the affairs of the Republic as if they themselves had been such.

But though America were to send fifty or sixty Representatives to Parliament, the doorkeeper of the House of Commons could not find any great difficulty in distinguishing who was and who was not a member. Though the Roman constitution, therefore, was necessarily ruined, by the Union of Rome with the allied states of Italy, there is not the least probability that the British constitution would be hurt by the Union of Great Britain with her Colonies. *That constitution, on the contrary, would be completed by it, and seems to be imperfect without it. The assembly which deliberates and decides concerning the affairs of every part of the Empire, in order to be properly informed, ought certainly to have Representatives from every part of it.* That this Union, however, could be easily effectuated, or that difficulties and great difficulties might not occur in the execution, I do not pretend, I have yet heard of none however which appeared insurmountable. The principal perhaps arise not from the nature of things, but from the prejudices and opinions of the people, both of this and the other side of the Atlantic.

We on this side of the water are afraid least the multitude of American Representatives should overturn the balance of the constitution, and increase too much, either the influence of the Crown on the one hand, or the force of the democracy on the other. But if the number of American Representatives were to be in proportion to the produce of American taxation, the number of people to be managed would increase in proportion to the means of managing them, and the means of managing to the number of people to be managed. The monarchial and democratical parts of the constitution, after the Union, would stand exactly in the same degree of relative force with regard to one another as they had done before.

The people on the other side of the water are afraid that their distance from the seat of empire might expose them to many oppressions. But their Representatives in Parliament, of which the number ought from the first to be considerable, would easily be able to protect them from all oppression. The distance could not much weaken the dependency of

the Representative upon the constituent, and the former would still feel that he owed his seat in Parliament and all the consequence which he derived from it, to the good will of the latter. It would be the interest of the former, therefore, to cultivate that good will by complaining, with all the authority of a member of Parliament, of any outrage which any civil or military officer might be guilty of in that remote part of the Empire. The distance of America from the seat of government besides, the natives of that country might flatter themselves, with some appearance of reason too, would not be of long continuance. Such has hitherto been the rapid progress in that country in wealth, population and improvement, that in the course of little more than a century, perhaps the produce of the American might exceed that of the British taxation. The seat of Empire would then naturally remove itself to that part of the Empire which contributed most to the general defence and support of the whole.

Such were the opinions in favor of, and the high authority conferred on the scheme of representative Union of Great Britain with her former and present Colonies in North America, by Mr. Smith, a Union which, had it been adopted in due time, would very probably have prevented the separation of the present States of America from the Parent Country.

I have, however, to repeat the same observation with respect to this great author, that I stated with respect to Governor Pownal's plan of Union, at the close of my observations on the extract from it, namely, that the idea of taxation of the Colonies after the Union by the Parliament of Great Britain, is diametrically opposite to the plan of Union I have formed, and will shortly be laid before my readers. The Colonies are already subject to taxation by the Provincial Legislatures, and I feel persuaded that no plan of Union by which they would also become liable to a second taxation by the Parent State, would be acquiesced in by these countries.

The observations of Mr. Smith in the first and third paragraph, which we have quoted, are admirably calculated to shew the utility of Representative Union

in an extensive Empire, inasmuch as we conceive it may be fairly inferred, that had the allies of Rome, when admitted by her as Roman citizens, been duly represented by deputies sent from each State to sit in the Roman Senate or National Council, we say it may be fairly inferred in that case that the Roman Empire instead of being ruined by her allies would probably have endured for numerous ages longer than she did.

Mr. Chisholm, in the work I have above mentioned, has therein quoted the objections of the celebrated Edmund Burke, to this Union of the Colonies with the British Parliament, and has I think, very well answered and refuted these objections, independently even of the newly acquired accession of steam power in crossing the Atlantic, which it seems Mr. Chisholm had predicted in his work, and has now the satisfaction of seeing those predictions pretty nigh realized.

In corroboration of the idea mentioned above respecting the probably greater duration of the Roman Empire, had it possessed the discovery of representation, we shall now mention instances of some countries which have derived solid advantages and durability therefrom.

Ancient Greece itself, is almost a sufficient proof of this, and had she had the foresight to have prevented the fatal influence of Macedon in her National compact and to have preserved her National virtues, she might perhaps have descended in her former glory to the present day.

The Germanic Diet, and more particularly the United Provinces and the Swiss Cantons, are strong proofs of the capacities of Union in preserving the liberties of Nations even when surrounded by powerful and despotic Nations. The United Provinces in the midst of every difficulty, became at one time one of the greatest commercial countries in the old World, and have even sometimes been able to dispute the Trident of the ocean with Great Britain.

England herself affords a brilliant example of the strength and power of Representative Union. In her fertile land of liberty this species of Union has been

gradually improving since the completion of the Heptarchy by our renowned Alfred, up to the recent establishment of Parliamentary reform, by which she proved the fact that her glorious Constitution is competent to purify itself from all corruptions. And it is devoutly to be hoped that the prosperous acquisition of this reform, may not destroy that moderation for which the British Nation, in her political character, has been so conspicuous, and that she will soon perceive that the extension of Representative Union, to all her Colonies, in a manner adapted to their circumstances, must not only promote their peace, security and prosperity in a degree hitherto unknown, but eventually consolidate the power of her Empire.

Scotland, by the great advances she has made since her Union with England, in agriculture and in several branches of manufacture and in commerce, is a proof of the advantages of Union by Representation. The industrious spirit, the mechanical talent, the enterprising genius of the Scotch might perhaps have otherwise lain dormant for ages.

Ireland, though last, will not be the least who will reap advantages from her Representative Union with England. She is sufficiently represented there by able advocates of her interests and fair demands. And she now probably requires little more than an efficient and wise code of poor Laws to introduce peace and security into her country ; and the advantageous employment of her labour and talents by British capital will then ensue, and produce a new career for her agriculture, manufactures and commerce.

The United States may certainly be considered as having presented to the World a prominent instance of the advantages of Representative Union ; although it must be confessed that the rise and gradual increase of late years of a most licentious spirit among that people both in their domestic concerns and most especially in the late treatment of these Provinces by a part of her population, gives strong indications to believe, that unless they retrace their steps, by the enactment of wise and salutary laws for the accomplishment of that end, some disastrous events must

ensue in that country proving that even liberty itself—the greatest gift of Heaven—may be abused, and, if not preserved within the bounds of reason, moderation and religion, may produce the misery or ruin as well as the welfare and prosperity of a nation.

Trusting now to have briefly shown that the several countries above mentioned and the extracts we have quoted, form a combined and powerful evidence in favor of Representative Union, I shall now beg leave to conclude this part of the subject with an observation on that part of Mr. Chisholm's work, which treats on the "National and constitutional right of the Colonies to Representation in the Imperial Parliament." These rights are treated in a very elaborate manner, and the author appears to be much concerned that the right of Representative Union has been so long opposed and denied to the Colonies. But it is consoling to observe that in the discussion which took place on Mr. Hume's motion in August, 1831, in the House of Commons, it appears to have been conceded by all parties in the House that the objections which had been offered by Burke and others, to this great measure, are now cancelled and done away with. By the passing of the late Reform Bill, the Colonies having been deprived of their former Parliamentary advocates, namely, those gentlemen who were greatly interested in the Colonies, but had lost their seats by that Bill, it was therefore the opinion of the parties in the House above mentioned, that the Colonies should be somehow or other represented in Parliament. The question therefore is fairly open to be laid before it.

I shall now present to the reader the most interesting part of Mr. Hume's speech on this subject, so important to these Provinces, and his scheme of representation as stated in the reports of the House.

House of Commons, August 16, 1831.

On the motion for going into a committee on the Reform Bill, Mr. Hume rose to submit an important motion to the House. Every one was aware of the great importance of the Colonial interests; and those

who were acquainted with the nature, extent, population, and wealth of the Colonies, naturally inquired whether they were entitled to representatives in Parliament. The population of British India amounted to eighty or ninety millions of souls, and its wealth and commerce were infinite. There were besides thirty-four Colonies including the Canadas, containing a large population and most extensive resources. He asked the House why so important a part of the King's Dominions as the Colonies—important both as regards their population and their riches—should not come within the reach of so important a change as that now contemplated in the constitution of that House. It was a clear proposition, as he conceived, that every British interest ought to be represented in that House according to its population and prosperity, and were not the Colonies to be put in a situation in which they might participate in the power conceded to other portions of His Majesty's Dominions? By the common law of the land every Englishman who expatriated himself to one of the Colonies of this country, carried with him all the rights and privileges of an Englishman, subject only to the changes which the local circumstances of the Colony in which he resided rendered necessary. The internal regulations of the Colonies were placed under the control of the King in Council, until the Colonies assumed such a position as to enable the inhabitants to manage their own affairs. The House, however, had never divested itself of the right to manage the external interests of those Colonies which had Local Legislatures, or to regulate their commercial arrangements either with the mother State or with other countries. Every person was aware of the immense importance of the Colonies, which naturally divided themselves into distinct classes. The British possessions in India formed one peculiar class, held under a particular tenure; the second class consisted of the Crown Colonies, under the government of the King in Council, and having no Legislature; and the third and most important class consisted of those Colonies which had a Legislative Assembly for their internal government. He begged the House to keep in mind

the distinction which he drew between these separate classes, as the proposition he was about to submit was in some degree governed by the distinction. He conceived that the Crown Colonies should have the same privileges as other Colonies, and have Assemblies to legislate for their internal regulation. It was sufficient for him now to state that this privilege was denied to nine Colonies which were known as the Crown Colonies,—Upper and Lower Canada, however, and fourteen of the West India Islands had Legislative Assemblies to tax and regulate those Colonies. This, then, was an obvious distinction, and on which depended the difference he proposed to make in the extent of the representation. He proposed to give a more extensive representation to those Colonies which had no Legislatures but were governed by the King in Council, and at the same time he did not intend that the Colonies which had Local Legislatures should be wholly unrepresented in the Imperial Parliament. By the Statute 18 George III, Chap. 12, the British Legislature was prevented from interfering with the internal affairs of the Colonies which obtained Local Legislatures, but power was reserved by the same act to make such regulations as should seem expedient with regard to the commerce of the Colonies, however much these regulations might affect the interests of one or all of these Colonies. It was therefore in the power of the British Legislature to reduce any one or all of these Colonies to beggary, or greatly to promote their prosperity, a power of immense importance to the whole of the Colonial interests. What he now proposed was to give the Colonies a partial representation,—such a representation as would place a person in that House capable of stating the grievances, and of giving information on questions which, perhaps effected the existence of them as Colonies of this country. In looking to the state of mis-government into which the Colonies had fallen, more appeared to have taken place from the ignorance of the House and the country, as to the real interests of the Colonies, than from any design to pass laws which would produce evil consequences—(hear, hear.)

It was important that the House should be placed in a situation in which the best information might be obtained with regard to the Colonies, if it were only to avoid the recurrence of those evils which the British Legislature had before inadvertently and unadvisedly fallen into. He conceived that such an alteration would place England in a much better relative situation as regards its Colonies. Twenty-five millions were now paid annually by this country for the support of its civil and military establishments, (putting out of view the sum paid for the interest and management of the debt ;) and of that enormous sum raised out of the taxes of this country, how large a portion arose from the expenses entailed on the country by its Colonies ? either as regarded the financial view which the question presented, or the rights of the Colonists as English subjects, he submitted that this subject was most important, and deserving of the most serious consideration. Hitherto a large portion of British subjects, resident in the Colonies, were deprived of any legitimate mode of laying their wants and wishes before that House. It was true some gentlemen connected with the Colonies found their way into the House. But one of the greatest and most striking objections to the Reform Bill had been that, when it came into operation, the same means would not exist for enabling gentlemen connected with the Colonies to obtain seats ; and a large portion, if not the whole, of the Colonies would be left without any legitimate mode of conveying their wishes or wants to the Imperial Legislature. He (Mr. H.) did not mean to say that even after the Bill came into operation, some gentlemen connected with the Colonies might not obtain seats for populous places in the United Kingdom, but that was a very different thing from having a Member for each of the Colonies, or a number of the Colonies united, who would sit as the Representative of the Colonial population, and be ready at all times to state the wishes of his constituents, and suggest any proposition which he deemed calculated to increase the wealth and happiness of that Colony with which he was connected. With a view of preventing the

evils which would arise from a great increase of the number of Representatives, he proposed to limit the number to the lowest extent, by which the purposes of representation would be fairly answered. He did not wish to add to the present number of Representatives, but according to the plan proposed by Ministers, there would be thirty-two Members fewer than there was at present. The number he proposed to add to the House for the Colonies, would make little difference in the relative proportion of the numbers. Members who looked at different interests with a partial eye would probably take a different view of the subject from that which he (Mr. H.) did. Some gentlemen may conceive that British India should be considered above all things, and others would prefer the interests of the West India Colonies; whilst some would advocate the claims of Ceylon, or the Cape of Good Hope, and consider them paramount. He begged to be understood not as proposing what was free from all objections, but only as approximating to what he believed would give satisfaction. It would be obvious to every one who heard him, that, to make the Colonies really useful to the mother country, they should be on the best possible terms; the Colonies should derive some advantage from the mother country; all reasonable ground for complaint should be removed, and they should be treated in every respect as adopted children—(cheers.) If this system of policy was pursued it would render the Colonies ten-fold more valuable, and they would feel more satisfied with their situation, even where the policy of the mother country obliged her to limit the means of their prosperity. However anxious gentlemen might be to preserve the relative proportion of Members between England, Ireland and Scotland, he was sure none would be so niggardly as to say that a few Members for the Colonies would derange the proportion to an injurious degree; more especially as the three countries were benefitted by the Colonies. His proposal was that the Colonies should be represented in that House by nineteen Members, which he proposed to divide in this way:

	MEMBERS.
British India,	4
The Crown Colonies,	8
British America,	3
The West India Colonies,	3
The Islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney and Serk,	1
Total,	19

With respect to the West Indies, he proposed to give to

	MEMBERS.
Jamaica,	1
Barbadoes, Grenada, St. Vincent and Tobago,	1
Montserrat, St. Nevis, St. Kitt's, and Tortola,	1
In all,	3

which he submitted was as small a number as could possibly be given to the West India Colonies—(hear, hear.) There was another group of Islands under the British government and influence, and lying contiguous to our own shores, the inhabitants of which, although British subjects, had always been treated as foreigners —he alluded to the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Serk, which had no representative assemblies, but were governed by the King in Council. To this group of Islands he proposed to give one representative; and if this was done he thought the population of those islands might feel they were Englishmen, what it was not possible they could have heretofore done—(hear, hear.) He felt that nineteen Members was a large number to propose to add at once to the representative body in that House; but when Members looked to the interests those Members were to represent, he hoped they would not consider that he proposed too much. From returns which he held in his hand, as to the population and trade of the Colonies, he would state some details on which his plan of Colonial representation was in a great degree founded. British North America contained nine hundred and eleven thousand inhabitants, of which two hundred and twenty-nine thousand were freemen. At

present the exports from the British North American Colonies exceed two million five hundred thousand pounds per annum—(hear,) and the imports were upwards of one million one hundred thousand pounds. From this statement the House would see the importance of those Colonies—(hear, hear.)

Mr. Hume then gave a statement of the population and trade of the West India Colonies, Gibraltar, Malta, Cape of Good Hope and Australia, and British India, which is not interesting to us to state; he then goes on to observe: The next consideration was, the mode in which it was proposed that those representatives should be elected. Now what he (Mr. H.) meant to propose was, that every man entitled to set upon Juries in India, should also be entitled to vote for a representative.

As to the West India Islands he said he saw little or no difficulty on the mode of election for them, as the inhabitants chiefly possessed the power of electing persons to manage the internal affairs of the respective islands. He then observed, that the truth was, if the government hoped to keep British America, they must resort to some such measure as that he proposed; for this he was convinced, was the only way to put an end to the bickerings which were constantly going on, and to attach the Colonies to the mother country. He had a petition signed by ten thousand persons of the Canadas, complaining of grievances; and, if they had representatives such a petition, he believed, never would have been called for. To the Canadas, with the adjoining islands, he proposed to give three members. To Lower Canada, which contained a population of four hundred and twenty-three thousand, he would give one member; to Upper Canada, which contained, according to returns on the table, one hundred and eighty-nine thousand inhabitants, but according to recent information, two hundred and sixty-five thousand, he would also give one; and, to New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, Newfoundland and Bermudas, with a population of three hundred thousand persons, he would give a third member. The mode of election was to be the same as that proposed for the West India Islands. Upper

and Lower Canada should return one Member each; and the islands should choose delegates to elect their representative. One point yet remained, and that was how were they to find their way to the House—(laughter.) He did not consider such a topic a subject for laughter. The ex-Secretary of the Admiralty may laugh; but—(Mr. Croker: I did not laugh)—it was possible there were errors in his calculations; but he thought it could not be denied that, considering the distances of the places and the complicacy of the details, he might be excused for making some errors. The third plan was that, on the commencement of a new Parliament, no Member should sit till the new Members were returned to the House. There could be no great evil in that, because they could be returned for the West Indies in six months, and for British India in a year. He thanked the House for the attention they had paid to him. The subject was one of great importance; and he thought the Colonies, in order to be of service to the mother country, ought to be placed in a situation which would induce them to co-operate with it. If the subject were submitted to a Committee, he was quite sure they would find no difficulty in preparing a Bill which would meet with the general views of the country, and afford means to the Colonies of laying their grievances before the House. One objection to the measure was, that the Colonies already had legislative bodies of their own selection; but it ought to be remembered that these legislative assemblies could legislate only on internal affairs, while the most important part of the business was that legislation which applied to their commerce, and which was made by the mother country without their interference. For these reasons he thought they were entitled to representation. He had no intention, however, of dividing the House on the question. All he wanted was to lay the details before the House, and leave them for future consideration and discussion. The Hon. Member concluded by moving, "that it be an instruction to the Committee to make a provision for the return of this House of Members to represent certain Colonies and foreign possessions of His Majesty."

Such was the effort then made by Mr. Hume to produce a Colonial representation of the British Parliament, and which as will appear by the following speeches of which I give extracts, that even the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at that time Lord Althorp, and also several eminent Members of the House, did not only approve of the measure but gave Mr. Hume great credit for bringing it forward; and these Provinces have to lament that he should have suffered himself to have been so far led away by the representation of certain weak and disloyal characters in this country as to have prevented him from following up the valuable measure in a future session of the Parliament. By the subsequent conduct of these men in plunging the Provinces into rebellion and its disastrous consequences, he has good reason to repent his connection with them, and as a just retribution for the encouragement he certainly gave them by his "Domination Letter," it is to be hoped he will ere long retrace his steps, and endeavor once more to effect the passing of the measure for Representative Union by the Imperial Parliament; by this means he will be able to atone for the evils he is (by a great part of the loyal population of these Provinces) considered to have brought on them; and will promote their peace and security, by a measure the best of all calculated so to do of any that can be desired, namely, the rendering them an integral part of the British Empire.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he had no intention of following his Hon. friend through all his details, because, it must appear clear to every Hon. Member, that it would be improper particularly at the present moment, to introduce such a clause into the Bill—(hear.) In fact he could hardly believe his Hon. friend serious in attempting to introduce a new system into the Bill, after they had been sitting upwards of a month on it in Committee—(hear.) When the Hon. Member spoke of the importance of the Colonies, and the claims they had to the protection and support of the mother country, he agreed in every word that he had said, but, even from the Hon. Member's own showing, it would be inexpedient to introduce a new and complicated measure into one which,

God knows, was complicated enough—(hear, hear.) They had sat already a month in Committee, and if they were to adopt the principle of his Hon. friend, there would be no end to the business. He was sure his Hon. friend had not brought it forward with any injurious intention, but looking at its complicacy and the discussion to which it might lead, he could not conceive any one of a more hostile tendency. He would not, therefore, enter into any discussion, because if the subject was to be taken up at all, it ought to have a separate discussion. He would only appeal to the House whether such an addition to the Bill would not obstruct its progress, and, discussion on it only delay the House from going into Committee ?—(hear.)

Sir John Malcolm said he would not follow the Hon. Member for Middlesex through the detail of his speech, but he must confess he thought the Hon. Gentleman had made out a case in favor of his motion. It was necessary there should be a species of representation for India and the Colonies, of which they were of necessity deprived by the Bill. He need not urge to the House the reasonableness of having in it men conversant with the manners and habits of the people of those distant parts of the world connected with this country. It could not be denied that the operation of the measure would remove that facility by which the Colonies had been hitherto represented, and this seemed to be felt by the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself. For his (Sir John Malcom's) own part, he certainly should support the proposition of the Hon. Member for Middlesex, but without pledging himself to any part of the detail into which the Hon. Member entered. He trusted that His Majesty's Government would give their serious attention to the subject, and propose some expedient to meet the difficulty created by the Reform Bill, with respect to a want of Colonial Representation—(hear.) He apprehended that when the Bill was passed, Government would direct its attention to that great question, the subject of India, and he should endeavour to bring to that discussion, a mind free from prejudice. Upon that subject he would not now enter, nor would he

detain the house longer, knowing there was an anxious desire to go into the Committee on the Reform Bill—(hear.)

Sir C. Wetherell said that the attention of the House was now called to a subject as important as any which had come under its discussion. The opinion of Mr. Burke had been quoted to show that he was unfavourable to the Colonists having direct representatives in that House. A more able man, one with more information, and a great desire to benefit his country, could not be found. Now what did Mr. Burke in effect state? Why, according to the abstract principle upon which the House of Commons was then constituted, the Colonies ought to have representatives, but practically he felt it a great difficulty to overcome. But Mr. Burke was speaking of the existing constitution of the country—(hear, hear.) And if the constitution was to be torn up in the way the Bill contemplated, the difficulty in having representatives for the Colonies under the new constitution was not insuperable—(hear, hear.) Mr. Burke's objections was, because it was contrary to existing things, *rebus extantibus*. But there was no longer any thing in such an objection, because the Bill had removed the cause of it. What was done with the Colonies, he begged to enquire? Were they not taxed? Certainly not in the same way that the House of Commons had attempted to tax America. Nevertheless he would contend that the Colonies were subject to a taxation. The trade was regulated, the import and export duties were imposed by the Legislature. It might not be pleasant to awaken a reminiscence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, otherwise he would ask the Noble Lord what was the regulation of duty on American timber and Cape wine, but a species of taxation on the Colonies?—(hear, and a laugh.) This country, it could not be denied, internally and externally, directly and indirectly, did levy monies on the Colonies. When there was about to be a reduction of thirty-three members of that House—for which, by-the-bye, the noble Lord had given no satisfactory reason—when the Bill excluded all the Members for the Colonies, which had an indirect mode of gaining

admission to that House, without there being any mode substituted for the omission thus created, he thought that the motion of the Hon. Member for Middlesex was one of great importance. For although the Bill created Members for Brighton, and Chelmsford, and Greenwich, yet it left unrepresented the Continent of India, the West India Islands, and Canada —(hear.) The vast population of India, the property there at stake, the West India possessions, with all its valuable interests, and Canada, were all to be disregarded, in order that the interests of those who catch white bait at Greenwich may be attended to as well as the interests of those who go down to Cheltenham or Brighton for their health - (laughter.) The promoters of the Bill had shut out all access to that House for those who represented the large Colonial possessions belonging to this country, in order that they might rear up a miserable interest, not a thousandth part so important to the kingdom. But the new constitution was going to pieces from its magnitude. Every day opened a page of levity and folly, of injustice and unfairness, of inconsistency and weakness, in the measure. The principle adopted by the Romans in their conquest was to receive in their Senate the Representatives of the conquered Colonies. He proceeded to argue that the Colonies being deprived of the access they formerly had to representation in this Legislature, ought to have some new avenue thrown open to them.

Sir Charles Forbes rose, simply to express his cordial approval of the Hon. Member for Middlesex, for the representation which was enjoyed by the Colonists under the present system of returning Members to Parliament being about to be taken away from them by the Reform Bill, which he wished, and hoped, and believed, would not pass into a law, he was quite satisfied that the interests of those highly important and valuable possessions of England, the Colonies, ought not to be overlooked.

Sir George Murray said that he felt extremely glad to find such attention had been paid by the House to the proposal of the Member for Middlesex, and also that the important observations with which the Hon.

Member had introduced his motion, had received so full a consideration. It had certainly appeared to him, during the long debates which had taken place on the Reform Bill, that the House had altogether forgotten that the British Empire did not entirely consist of the immediate islands of Great Britain and Ireland, but that it partly consisted of some highly important and valuable possessions in the East and West Indies, and other parts of the globe; of the importance of these possessions he was always, however, fully impressed; and he must take leave to express the satisfaction with which he had heard the Hon. Member for Middlesex express his opinions, as he had feared, from the general tenor of the Hon. Member's arguments in the House, that he did not entertain any high estimate of the value of the Colonies. It had been clearly and incontrovertibly shown by that Hon. Member, and by the Hon. Member for Taunton, that the virtual representation at present enjoyed in their House, under the present mode of election, by the Colonists, would be utterly and completely taken away from them by the measure now undergoing consideration; and that when the Reform Bill had passed into a law, the House would be found to be composed entirely of Members who would be returned to support local interests alone, thus depriving the Colonists entirely of that virtual representation which had been found to be so beneficial to them. He rose, therefore, merely to express his conviction of the necessity Ministers of that House would be under either of adopting or modifying the plans of the Hon. Member for Middlesex, or of taking the idea suggested by the Hon. Member for Taunton into their serious consideration, with a view to remedy the great and important evil which would result to the Colonists. The noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) opposite, on various occasions, when Hon. Members who were otherwise friendly to the Bill had got up to make amendments or to suggest any improvement in its details, had observed that such a proceeding evinced a desire on their part to defeat the Bill. Now, he would not admit this to be the fact, with respect to the proposal before the House, for both the

Hon. Member for Middlesex and Taunton were direct and warm supporters of the Bill, and not its enemies. It was surely the duty of Ministers, if the Bill must pass into a law, to endeavour to make it as beneficial as possible to the country; and we would venture to predict, that when all those places which were to be furnished with Representatives had received their allotted portion of influence in that House, it would be found that the Bill, so far from giving Representatives to those particular interests of the country, which those vast and complicated interests required, actually deprived many of them, and those too most important ones, of the virtual representation they now enjoyed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he was averse to the measure, as it would impede the Reform Bill—it ought to form a separate measure.

The motion was then put and negatived.

It thus appeared from the speeches of many eminent Members of the House of Commons, that they not only approved of the measure of a Representative Union of the British North American Colonies with Great Britain, but that from the changes effected in the House of Commons of the Imperial Parliament by the late Reform Bill, that such a measure was actually necessary. The coast then is completely clear for the question and measure, to be again brought before them, and I have little or no doubt that if that were properly done this great measure would be carried.

I have now only to present to my readers the plan of Representative Union with the Imperial Parliament which, I believe, would answer the purpose, and is alone consistent with the present condition of these Provinces. It is first to be observed, that all the plans we have extracted from the works named in the foregoing pages, namely, Adam Smith and Governor Pownal, appear to be based on the idea of a representation of the people of the Colonies, (by Members deputed to the Imperial Parliament,) in no wise different from those sent to it by the people of Great Britain. The same entire representation was also contemplated by Mr. Hume in the motion on the subject above stated; these Colonial Representatives then having a right to vote on all questions of taxation

of the people of England, the North American Colonies would also be subject to taxation by the Imperial Parliament.*

Now all the North American Colonies are by the constitution of each Province subject to taxation by their own separate Legislatures. Each of these Legislatures is perfectly competent to determine the quantity of this taxation, and the mode and time of levying it which is most consonant with the indispensible necessities of the Government, and with the will and capacities of the people to pay it. There is no necessity whatsoever therefore, to subject these Colonies to a second taxation by another Parliament. And as the people of each Colony enjoy the right of choosing their own Colonial Representatives in their Houses of Assembly, and thereby give their consent to the Colonial taxation, so likewise, there is no necessity that the Representatives who shall be deputed to sit in the Imperial Parliament should be chosen by the people at large. It will therefore, I conceive, be perfectly sufficient, that these Representatives in the Imperial Parliament be chosen by the separate Legislatures of each Colony. By this means I conceive, men of the deepest stakes in the welfare of these countries, and of the most eminent characters for integrity, intelligence and ability will be more likely to be chosen. All that these Provinces want in the way of Representation in the Imperial Parliament, may, I conceive be thus completely acquired. All they want is to have men perfectly acquainted with the interests of their respective Colonies to maintain those interests with zeal, judgment and ability, in the House of Commons of the Imperial Parliament. But especially, I conceive this Representative Union must be so modified and managed, that while the Colonial Legislatures are allowed to send such Representatives, that at same time this Representation shall be of such a nature as shall not render these Colonies subject to a second taxation by

* Mr. Hume, however, in his plan of Representation in the House of Commons, allowed that the Colonies were to have the sole right of taxing themselves for their own internal affairs.

the Imperial Parliament. Because, I do not conceive a taxation of this kind would ever meet the wishes of, or be agreed to by the people of these Colonies. The Imperial Parliament cannot possibly be equally well acquainted with the capabilities or inclination of the people of these Colonies to bear taxation as the Legislatures of each Colony are, and the involving them in subjection to taxation by the Imperial Parliament would probably produce a fruitful source of dissatisfaction and discontent. To steer clear therefore of this subjection to a second taxation is a great object of the following :

Principles of the Representative Union of British North America with Great Britain.

1st Principle.—That it is highly necessary for the future peace, security and welfare of these Provinces, that they should be empowered by Her Majesty's Government, to send a certain number of proper persons to represent those interests in the Imperial Parliament.

2d. That this necessity of Representation has been already advocated in that Parliament, and it was therein agreed to on all sides, on the discussion of this question on the 16th August, 1831, that, as the Colonies would be deprived of virtual Representation in the House of Commons by the Reform Bill, that a Representative Union ought to be forthwith granted to them.

3d. The necessity of such Representative Union has also, it is conceived, been further proved by the late disastrous events which have taken place recently in two of the principal North American Provinces, the two Canadas. 1837-8.

4th. That the existence and suppression by force of arms of three rebellions in the two Provinces, and the numerous invasions in consequence thereof by neighbouring States, which they have suffered and repelled, appear to confirm the fact, that if Great Britain intends to preserve her possession of, and dominion over the North American Colonies, she must form such a Representative Union with them as shall render them entirely integral parts of the British Empire.

5th. That it is therefore now proposed for the consideration of the public and the Imperial Government, that one Representative shall be sent by the Legislative Council, and one other Representative by the House of Assembly of each British North American Province, or such number of Representatives as shall hereafter be determined on, to sit as Representatives thereof in the House of Commons of the Imperial Parliament.

6th. That these Representatives shall be instructed by the Colonial Legislatures, and have a right to bring before the Imperial Parliament, statements of such grievances as may be deemed by them to exist in any Province, also to bring forward any measure they may judge advantageous to the security, trade, navigation, and other interests and political relations of these Provinces, and to make such motions and resolutions thereon, as they shall deem proper, and to have the right to vote in favour of the same in the Imperial Parliament.

7th. That considering that the people of the British North American Colonies are already subject to taxation by their own Colonial Legislatures; therefore, the Representatives of the Colonial Legislatures in the Imperial Parliament shall not have the right of bringing forward any motion *for the future general taxation of those Colonies by the Imperial Legislature.* But should any case occur, such as the extension of any right of trade, or the granting of any new privileges of any kind to the North American Colonies, whereby it should be deemed just and proper that some additional tax or duty should be in consequence of such extension of trade and commerce, levied on these branches of trade, the Representatives of each Colony shall in that case be authorized to consent to and vote for such tax or duties as may be requisite for obtaining the said extension of commerce from the Imperial Parliament.

8th. That whereas on the seventh principle, above stated, the peop'e of British North America do claim their constitutional rights and privilege to be subject to taxation *solely by their respectiveColonial Legislatures;* so also the said people

of British North America, do not claim or expect that their said Representatives in the Imperial Parliament shall have the right to vote in any question or motion of taxation of the people of Great Britain by the Imperial Parliament.

9th. That the said people of British North America feeling it just, necessary and proper, that they should have henceforth the most adequate means of bringing before the Imperial Legislature any causes of grievances or complaint that may hereafter occur in the said British North America, and also to have the means of duly advocating therein the interests and advancement of these Provinces, do claim the right for their said Representatives to bring forward before the said Imperial Legislature any such complaints or grievances, or interests for legislative decision upon; and also the said people do claim for their said Representatives in the Imperial Parliament, the rights and all the freedom of speech and debate, usually practised and enjoyed by all or any other Members of the said Parliament, on all questions or motions touching or relating to the aforesaid matters; and also on all occasions in any session of the said Parliament, wherein any question, motive or resolution shall be brought forward by *any* Member of the said Parliament, any way relating to the interests, welfare, or advancement, or in any way appertaining to the said North American Provinces; and also the said people do claim for their said Representatives, the right to vote freely on all such occasions, according to their free will and judgment.

The aforesaid nine enumerated principles then, are those on which we conceive such a Representative Union may be founded, as shall at once give to these Provinces the most adequate means to bring forward all subjects concerning their interests, peace, security, welfare and advancement, and to advocate and maintain the same in the Imperial Legislature. At the same time this mode of Union will, according to the 7th and 8th principles, prevent for ever the collision of the Parent State with her said Provinces, on the important subject of their general taxation, which will thereby be left entirely in the power of the

several Colonial Legislatures according to the constitution granted to the said Provinces as respects their internal affairs.

With respect to the appointment or deputation of an equal number of Representatives from the two branches of each Legislature as per principle the 5th; any difference of opinion that may arise between the Members of any particular Province can have no bad effect, as on every subject relating to the Colonies, brought before the Imperial Parliament, a committee will doubtless be formed by the House, consisting probably of all the Representatives of the North American Provinces. In this committee thus formed in the House of Commons, every individual member will bring forward and support his own measures and arguments, which will be then decided on by the votes of the Majority of that Committee, and their reports brought before the Hon. House of Commons to be again discussed, and if sanctioned, finally sent to the other branches of the Imperial Legislature for their discussion.

Thus a truly constitutional *Colonial Federal Assembly* will be formed in the *very heart of the Imperial Legislature* for the full and fair discussion of every subject relating to any and all of the North American Provinces, and the measures the committee may determine on, will then also be put to the test of the united wisdom and justice of the Imperial Legislature.

We trust to have produced in the course of the foregoing pages sufficient opinions and arguments to prove the necessity of a Representative Union of these Colonies with the Parent State. The foundation upon which we have placed this Union, as stated in the principles enumerated, is indeed materially different from any former plan of Union advovated in Parliament, but as the design in making this difference is, as shown in the 7th and 8th principles, to avoid any collision with the Imperial Parliament on account of the taxation of these Provinces, we have great hopes that the said Parliament, in consideration of the constitution of these Provinces already established, will acquiesce in the principles of Union above enu-

merated, more especially as by the 8th principle the right of voting on any question or motion of the taxation of the people of Great Britain is not claimed.

It is possible, however, that the Imperial Parliament, wishing to profit by the knowledge and abilities of the Colonial Representatives, may allow them to debate on all questions whatever, which come before the House, even concerning the taxation of the people of England solely restricting them from voting thereon.

We have, therefore, now to present this important plan to the consideration of the public. We conceive it will greatly tend to the peace, security, and advancement of these Provinces in every branch of prosperity. We conceive the late events in both the Provinces of Canada prove the necessity of this Union, and we believe the rapidly increasing population of all the North American Colonies will render this measure indispensible. The sooner then, we can obtain its advantages, the better and the wiser. Should any future and serious differences occur the several branches of the Legislatures of any North American Colony, whereby the public peace or business should become obstructed, an efficient *safety valve* will thus be formed, by the right and privilege of deputing Representatives to the Imperial Parliament, where these differences and difficulties may be speedily discussed and terminated, and where it is highly probable the Colonial Representatives will find it their interest to combine all their zeal and talents for the general and individual advancement of the Provinces of British North America.

I now conclude this important chapter, believing and hoping, that the *past and present* evils which have so long afflicted these Provinces, may be happily terminated by the Union proposed in it, and offering my ardent prayer to the all wise disposer of the destinies of countries, that He will bestow His blessings on that Union, and enable it to produce the *future* peace, prosperity and happiness of these North American Provinces.

Coinciding therefore, with the enlightened views of the profound author of the "Wealth of Nations,"

Adam Smith, and with those of Governor Pownal,—to whose honor I have to mention, that he has very lately been named among the many claimants to the authorship of the renowned "Letters of Junius,"—I now proceed to state my ideas in support of that kind of Representation of these Colonies in the Imperial House of Commons of Great Britain, best suited for them.

I consider that the true road for the permanent advance and security of these Provinces, and for their elevation in the scale of Nations is, to draw the bonds of union closer with the vast Empire of Great Britain, and to give to that Union a more practical form and substance.

The Ministers of Great Britain have indeed often declared the Colonies to be an integral part of the Empire,—(see the speeches of Lord John Russell and others in Parliament.)

Now, as the best means of forming the Federal Union of the Colonies, I consider, that the formation of it in any particular part of them would be a fruitful source of jealousies and dissatisfaction among them, and would in fact come short of the very object of their true elevation, namely, a certain influence and voice in the affairs of the Empire itself.

With respect to Eastern Canada at least, I feel tolerably convinced, they would—(I speak of the Majority)—never willingly agree to such Federal Union; and Western Canada does not shew any wish for such a Union with the Lower Provinces, though some consider it natural enough that these should be willing.

I shall now proceed to shew, that the present advanced state of these North American Colonies requires some immediate steps on the part of Great Britain, to retain them as an integral part of her Empire, and thereby to meet their growing desire of elevation in the national scale by their Representative Union with the Imperial Parliament.

In the year 1841, two years after the publication of the work in which I advocated this Representative Union, as shewn in the foregoing extracts, the population of the two Provinces amounted to little

more than one million of souls, whereas by census of Eastern Canada in 1851, their population was 890,261, and of Western Canada 1851, 952,004 souls, making a total for both East and West Canada, of 1,842,265 souls, and by calculation for this year, 1855, a population of 2,701,336.

I now shew by an extract from the census of 1851-2, the gradual increase of the two Provinces now united, in some of the principal articles of agricultural industry.

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Extract from the General Abstract of Agricultural Produce in United Canada, from the Census for 1851–2.

PRODUCE IN UPPER OR WESTERN CANADA.		PRODUCE IN LOWER OR EASTERN CANADA.	
GRAIN, CATTLE, &c.	BUSHELS.	GRAIN, CATTLE, &c.	BUSHELS.
*Wheat	12,572,831	Wheat	3,073,943
Barley	625,452	Barley	494,766
Rye	318,429	Rye	325,422
Peas	3,127,681	Peas	1,415,806
Oats	11,391,867	Oats	8,977,380
Buckwheat	579,935		
Indian Corn	1,688,805		
All Grain in Canada West	30,305,000	All Grain in Canada East	14,287,317
Potatoes	4,982,185	Potatoes	4,424,016
	NUMBER.		NUMBER.
Oxen, Steers and Bulls	191,140	Oxen and Steers	112,128
Milch Cows	297,070	Milch Cows	295,552
Horses	204,670	Horses	184,620
Sheep	1,050,168	Sheep	647,465
Pigs	571,496	Pigs	257,794

* Wheat—Acres grown, 798,276; average per acre, 15¾ bush.

The French population of Eastern Canada in reference to their private affairs are a clear-headed and observing people, and pride themselves not a little on their "*Tête Canadienne.*" The population of Western Canada, being mostly composed of English, Scotch, Irish and the descendants of those from the States, may well be called acute and discerning, and well know the value of the freedom and advantages they possess. And the United Province appears to be now on the eve of an immediate advance, by means of the numerous railroads in construction.

The United Province has also lately been introduced to the notice of the old countries, by the recent exhibitions in England and in France, and has acquired considerable celebrity by the productions of nature and of art we have exhibited there.

What the powerful effects these events and especially the railroad movement may have in the trade and commerce of the country, it is easy to foresee.

It will be mainly from these elements of prosperity that the projectors of these railroads must look for employment and business, and railroads cannot fail to encourage the increase of these elements. Facility and cheapness of transport from a great extent of country is, probably, one of the greatest helps to agriculture.

Now, while on the subject of railroads I wish to state an opinion:

One of the contractors or projectors of the Grand Trunk, in his application to our Provincial Government, after stating they--the Grand Trunk Company—had met with a loss or outlay by that railroad, of several hundred thousand pounds, he observed, that if it could get the American travel and traffic, the road would pay 8½ per cent., and if they could not yet the American traffic it would pay only 5 per cent. This is as well as I recollect what he stated, and he concluded with a demand of a guarantee on the part of the Province, to the amount of the five per cent., and that the Company would then complete the road. This, if I understand aright, has been agreed to, and the road is to be completed.

But the observation I wish to make is, that although

these railroads may greatly add to the trade and facilities of transport, yet I do not by any means look upon them as the main source of prosperity of the Province. In England, it is well known, immense loss and ruin were occasioned by too many having been put up, which would not pay. The prosperity of Canada, thank God, does not depend upon our getting the traffic or carrying trade of a foreign nation. It depends and arises from the natural increase of pupulation of our own country, and the consequent increase of produce of all kinds—natural and artificial from the land and its waters.

When last in Toronto, I waited on the Governor General Sir Ed. Head, and stated to him a design of publishing the present work, on the intention of the Imperial Government to unite these Provinces. His Excellency asked if it would not be as well to postpone the publication, until I knew it was the intention of the British Governnment so to do. Now it has certainly, for some time past, been stated in the Province that such was the intention of the British Government. It was even reported before the arrival here of the present Governor, that he was coming out for this very purpose, although that does not appear to have been correct.

Now, as appears by the above extracts, several of the most eminent writers of Great Britain have advocated the plan, and last though not least, the late Member of Parliament, Joseph Hume, brought the subject before the House of Commons at the Reform Session, and it was agreed by all parties that as the Reform Bill had been passed for England, that therefore all her Colonies should be at least "partially" represented in that House.

As far back as the year 1839, I had published a small work in Montreal, advocating this measure, and I have to remark that I sent twelve copies of the work down to the Hon. Joseph Howe's brother, in Halifax, then editor of one of the Halifax papers. Since then, (only a year or two ago,) it appears the Hon. Mr. Howe has brought forward a plan for the same purpose of representation in the British Parlia-

ment, which according to his opinion, is much wished for in the Province of Nova Scotia.

Now if the Lower Province feel this desire and claim for representation, much more so has the more populous and extensive Province of Canada to look for it.

In order then, that the present advanced and advancing condition of this United Province, and its almost certainty of a great future one, may proceed in a right and safe direction, and believing that this advanced and advancing condition will entitle it to look for a higher station in a national point of view, than it at present possesses, I therefore consider its representation in the National Council of the Empire will give it that elevation ; and I proceed to shew the necessity of this in the present position of the United Province.

It is true, too true, that elements of discord have abounded in this Province. Varieties of religious opinions have, in ancient times, produced most incredible bad effects between the two great divisions of the Christain religion, but, unhappily, it is not in these two divisions alone, we find this to be the case. Among the numerous Protestant sects, we sometimes find a degree of animosity against each other, not much less than in the above case ; yet it is consoling to see that the intelligence and scientific activity of the age is gradually wearing out these asperities.

Often it happens that people coming out from Protestant England or Scotland to Lower Canada, feel a great repugnance to the rites, ceremonies and practice of the Roman Catholic Church, and I doubt not if we could see into the feelings of many of these persons we should find them not unaccompanied with alarm, and accordingly we see sometimes men of talent among them, employed in attemps to overthrow the doctrines of that Church. After remaining some years in this country, they find the futility of these attemps, and also that there is no cause of alarm whatever from that source.

I was born in that part of the Province, and have lived in it for nigh forty years, a good deal of which

was among the French Canadian population, and I have never felt the least molestation on their part on account of religion.

With respect to the discord still existing among the Protestant sects, I some years since published my ideas on the means of restoring unanimity among them, in my work on the "Present Condition of United Canada," London, C. W., 1850, and second edition thereof in Toronto. I have therein shewn the weakening effects of these divisions on the Protestant Faith, and suggested to the ministers and laity of the Protestant community, the necessity and wisdom of ascending together to the original foundation of Christianity given us by the Saviour of mankind, to try, if a concentrated code of Protestantism could not be formed on His sublime principles of unity, peace, and good will to man; and I am happy to observe, that some of the sects are already proceeding on a plan of union of some of them, and I have here to recall my readers to what I have addressed in this present work to the Church of England in these Provinces on this subject.

And I am still more happy to observe that in a late convocation of that Church in the Diocese of Canterbury, England, this very subject was brought forward by some Church of England Clergymen, with respect to the Methodist persuasion, to enable them, if I rightly understood, to take up Episcopal functions in that Church. It appears, however, that in consequence of the wording of the memorial or address on this subject, some of the Bishops present objected to certain observations contained in this address, and it was therefore ordered to lay on the table for the present. The idea, having however, been thus taken up, let us hope that the introduction of it will be adhered to by its supporters, and lead hereafter to a union of peace and good will of all sects. In fine may we not hope that Christianity may be in time restored to that unity, peace and good will to mankind, which there can be no possible doubt was the design of its divine founder that it should be, and I conclude this great subject with one remark.

The population of the world is said to be 1,000 mil-

lions. Of these only 3 to 400 millions are Christians. Now all the Christian Churches must wish the extension of Christianity. If it were possible to form a union of all Christian Churches, would not the power of the extension of Christianity be proportionally increased ?

Now, having discussed the question of the elements of discord in the Province, I proceed to consider the best means of removing them, and have for that end the more pleasing task of considering the influence of the elements of attachment to its constitution.

To myself, who have stated in a former work, that I remember when a boy, that the Province of Canada consisted mostly of woods and lakes, and who now behold in it a country not only capable of supporting above two million of inhabitants, but also of exporting near one million of barrels of flour annually,—nothing more should seem requisite to produce on me a great attachment to that constitution.

Having been educated in England and served my apprenticeship in its vast metropolis, I there imbibed a great admiration for its splendid constitution, for that constitution which appears to be due in great part to its physical separation from the neighbouring continent—(where despotic rule has very generally prevailed)—that noble constitution which is perhaps better calculated to preserve the true, natural, and dignified liberty of man, than any other in the world. I have therefore, from long experience, imbibed the idea, that a love and veneration for the true principles of that constitution is the best foundation for the happiness of the people of these Provinces. I therefore believe, that to support permanently the part of that constitution which we enjoy and under which the United Provinces has made an unexampled progress, will be a proof of the soundest wisdom ; and, I moreover believe, that by far the most enlightened and worthy portion of its inhabitants will, on due reflection, be of the same opinion.

It is true that some very singular statements have been lately advanced in the Legislative Assembly, that we had not the British constitution in the Province, because some of the minor parts of it were

deficient. But what of that? We have the very soul of that constitution; we have its democracy in its Legislative Assembly, chosen by the people; we have its aristocracy, hitherto nominated by the Crown or its representative, from among the most influential persons of property, and who it is to be inferred would be in general chosen on account of supposed sufficient talent and zeal to maintain the public weal and security; and we have the representative of the sovereign to preserve and protect that constitution, and to *see* it duly administered.

Such then are the elements of attachment to the constitution of the Province, and when we consider the wonderful progress it has made under this constitution, it seems to me we may say of any deficiencies in it, what Hamlet says of the ills of life: "It is better to bear with them, than fly to others which we know not of."

Previous to a further consideration of the advantages that will arise to the Province by its being represented in the British Legislature, I shall make one observation on a plan that is mentioned in the Quebec *Gazette*, of June 7th, 1854, by a Mr. Hamilton, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, who, after stating that this plan had been advocated by some eminent men in Nova Scotia and in Canada, goes on to shew why this idea of Union with the mother country by representation has taken so firm a hold on the North American mind.

These sensations, if existing to that degree in the Lower Provinces, may well do so in the more extensive and populous region of United Canada. The British Government having, after a struggle of many years, been compelled to abrogate the Corn Laws, (and for want of a due representation of these Colonies in the Imperial Parliament,) without the precaution of granting some boon by way of compensation to them, a very serious degree of dissatisfaction ensued in this Province, which added to that occasioned by the passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill, alienated the minds of many of the most influential people from the Parent State, and led them to favor the idea of annexation to the United States, and had it not been for the

singular advance of wheat and agricultural produce, which, notwithstanding the promises of the advocates for this abrogation, has risen in price nearly as high as ever it was before, it is possible that the wish for that annexation would have continued to this day.

It is evident then, seeing the existing state of things in these Colonies, and their rapid advancement and desire for progress, that it will stand the Imperial Government in hand to render that desire for advancement safe, and a means of consolidation of the strength of the Empire by a closer Union with its Colonies, thereby elevating them to a share in the honors of representation in the Imperial Parliament, whereby the zeal and talents of these Colonial Representatives may be enabled to bring forward such measures as they may conceive adapted for the increase of their trade, navigation and commerce, and may also be animated with a due ambition to employ the power of that zeal and talent for the general benefit of the Great Empire itself.

I shall now consider the mode by which the aforesaid Halifax writer proposes to form this Union, and thereafter to advance some further arguments in favor of the plan I have proposed in a former part of this work, for forming this Federal Union of all the Colonies in the centre of the Imperial Parliament.

It would appear then, that this writer wishes to have all the North American Provinces united into one general government, which should be empowered to levy taxes for them all, as he mentions not a word as to retaining the local Legislatures of each Province. By his plan, therefore, the various Provinces, who hitherto have paid taxes imposed by their own Representatives would now be deprived of that, and find the Representatives they sent to the general government, subject to the control of that general government in the important concern of their taxation.

I cannot therefore believe this mode would be approved of by the Lower Provinces, but I believe it would prove a source of endless discontent among them. The Members of the larger and more populous Provinces would outnumber those of the smaller, and would perhaps be preferring their own interests.

The revenues of all the Provinces must, in case of a general government of this description, be at the disposal and distribution of that general government, whereas, as it is at present, the funds of each particular Province are applied to its own particular use.

But even should this plan of Union be adopted, it would still leave the Colonies where they now are. They would still remain Colonial dependencies, whereas by the plan of representation we recommend in this work, they will be elevated to a share in the Imperial jurisdiction of Great Britain, and thereby become equally independent as herself.

There, in the heart of the British House of Commons, our Representatives might bring forward motions for removing any sources of dissatisfaction which may exist, and bring forward and advocate any plans they may consider competent to advance the trade, commerce and navigation, and general prosperity of the Colonies.

I have heard it indeed objected that the number of Representatives that could be thus deputed by the Colonies would be so small as to have but little weight, and that they would be merely seeking their own advancement and become servile tools of the British ministry. Now, as to the first part of these assumptions, it will be found of little weight ; for the Colonies of Great Britain all over the world are very numerous, and the government of Great Britain have of late years shewn a disposition to act very liberally to her Colonies. In fact, she finds it her best advantage so to do. But it is very certain that the success of this representation of the Colonies would probably greatly depend on the quality and character of the Representatives chosen for that purpose, by the Legislature of each Province. To send men to stand up for their elevation and advancement, merely on account of their influence or wealth therein, is not sufficient. These would perhaps be content with the enjoyment of the honors of so high a situation. But the men required to render the trial successful must be men of known and long tried devotion to the welfare and advance of the Provinces—and of talents, zeal, and energy to produce it.

As to the latter part of the above assumption, namely, the conduct of our Representatives in the Imperial Parliament, I observe, that their conduct would be narrowly watched by our Colonial Legislatures, and they could be removed from their seats if their misconduct or want of due exertion for the interests of the Province demanded it.

I have little doubt, therefore, that there would be found men of talent and zeal for the advancement of the Provinces who would desire no higher honor than that of representing them in the Imperial Parliament; but although that might not be always the case, and that the employment of their talents should become an object with the British Ministry, they would of course be expected to vacate their seats as Representatives of the Colonies, and not to sit unless rechosen by the Provincial Legislature.

The representation then of these Colonies in the Imperial Parliament, by men of powerful talent, and of great zeal for their advance, is certainly the best way to produce that elevation of them, which their rapid progress seems to require; and should that Parliament agree to allow such a representation as I have proposed in the former parts of this work, namely, to leave the taxation of these colonies entirely to their separate Legislatures, and to allow us to send Deputies to the Imperial Parliament to sit there, and to vote solely on all questions relating in any shape or manner to their advancement, we may then be said to possess all the advantages of Independence, with the addition of a very great one for a young country, namely, that we shall have the defence and protection of one of the most powerful maritime nations to enable us to maintain that Independence.

Such, then, is my decided opinion of the safest and surest mode of producing the elevation of the Colonies.

Now as respects the interest of Great Britain herself in this union of all her Colonies by representation, it appears to me to be exceedingly manifest.

These political relations and interests are of such vast extent, that it would appear to require the

united energies of every part of her Empire to manage them with due effect. For instance, in the case of the dreadful scene of warfare Great Britain is now in.

The generous love of freedom and hatred of oppression for which the British nation has been long distinguished, has been excited to a high degree by the recent conduct of the Emperor of Russia regarding Turkey. Great Britain and France have resisted this conduct with most unexampled bravery and constancy in the midst of great suffering from diseases arising from climate, and a great deal of avowed misconduct in the supply of our army with the necessary materials of warfare.

Now it appears that this war has tended greatly to affect the commerce of this Province, at least such is the opinion of many of our merchants, and although in the plan we have advocated in the work for the representation of these colonies in the Imperial Parliament, we do not claim the right of voting for or against any measure by which the people of England are to be taxed, seeing that our plan proposes that the colonies shall be taxed by their own Legislatures solely ; yet as these colonies are greatly interested in the question of Peace or War, it does not seem unreasonable that they should be allowed the privilege of declaring their opinions and arguments on the subject, although not allowed to *vote* therein in the Imperial Parliament.

By this means would be derived the talent and the energy of every part of her empire for the consideration of the Councils thereof, and perhaps it may be observed that the people of the colonies, being less interested and agitated on the subject, might possibly be found to form a cooler and more mature judgment on this highly important question of Peace or War.

Now I myself remember wars between the Russians and Turks, many years ago, and which wars did not produce the overthrow of the Turkish Empire, and even, in the beginning of the present war, the Turks repeatedly repulsed the Russians.

It appears also to me, that the generous desire of

the English people to defend the weak against the strong, was not the only motive for their interference; but that an idea prevailed among them that if the Russians conquered Turkey, they would be able thereafter to attack our East India possessions.

It has, however, been pretty well proved, that before Russia could carry an army into India, it would cost her the loss, by that march alone, of more than 100,000 men.

But this is not all by any means, that is to be said on this subject of attack of our East India possessions.

Great Britain has a population of above one hundred millions of people in the East Indies; and I am informed that a certain part of them—the Sepoys—form, when incorporated with our European troops, very good soldiers. Now, if the plan of representation of all the possessions of Great Britain, proposed by Joseph Hume at the time of the Reform Bill, and agreed to by all parties in the British House of Commons, were now put into force and action, it would raise the East India population to a degree of freedom, and inspire them with the courage of a free people, to defend their liberties against any power Russia could send to destroy them.

But it would appear also, that this supposed danger to our East India possessions, was not the only motive of the war on the part of England. We have been told by several writers, that the Russian Government is bent on the overthrow of the liberties of Europe, and that they have the power to do so.

This appears to me a much more extravagant idea than the probable loss of our East India possessions, and I here subjoin an account of the population of those countries, which are to be thus overthrown:

POPULATION OF THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES.

COUNTRIES.	POPULATION.
Empire of Austria	37,443,033
Duchy of Baden, (Limited Monarchy,)	1,362,774
Bavaria, " "	4,519,546
Belgium, " "	4,359,090
Denmark, " "	2,296,597
France, (Empire, but represented in a Parliament,)	35,400 486
Great Britain, (Limited Monarchy,) "	27,435,325
Holland, " "	3,267,638
Hanover, " "	1,173,711
Portugal " "	3,412,500
Saxony, " "	1,894,431
Sweden and Norway, "	3,667,812
Switzerland, (Republic)	2,320,000
Turkey, (Despotic Government,)	15,500,000
	144,052,943
Smaller States, say	5,000,000
Total Population of all the above	149,052,943

Thus it would appear that the population of Europe is not much less than two and a half times that of Russia; but their mode of warfare and their scientific superiority, is probably much greater.

The majority of the nations above mentioned, are limited monarchies, and were they convinced that the design of the Emperor of Russia in this war, really was to bring them under its despotic rule, there can be no doubt that it would inspire them with courage and means to prostrate him.

It therefore appears to me, reasonable to believe this could not have been his design. Accordingly, before her last Emperor died, he directed his ambassador at Vienna, not only to agree to the four points proposed to him by the allies, but to accept their own explanation of these points. The present Emperor, also gave the same directions. Then the cause why

who can effect for England and the world, that secure, honourable, and permanent peace that shall permit them to pursue the true course of an enlightened nature, the diffusion of the discoveries of science unmolested, and the progress of national improvement that shall remove the distresses and increase the comforts and enjoyments of mankind. But to return to our subject—Such then is the plan of Representative Union of all the Colonies of Great Britain, which I believe to be the most suited to obtain for them that elevation which their advanced state of population, prosperity, and intelligence seem to require.

If the Imperial Parliament will agree to such a representation in it, as we in this work have proposed, namely, to allow the present Legislatures of these Colonies to retain their present right and power of levying the taxes for the support of the government of each Colony, and also to send deputies to the Imperial Parliament, there to sit as Representatives of these Colonies, and there to bring forward such measures as may appear to them needful to redress and remove any grievances or differences that may hereafter arise therein, and also to bring forward any measures or regulations in regard to their trade, commerce, or navigation which may appear to said Representatives required and promotive of these interests,—the Colonies will then have acquired a portion of that elevation in the national government, which all parties, in the Hon. House of Commons of Great Britain did, at the time of passing the Reform Bill for England, agree that these Colonies had a fair claim to.

We have stated in our plan of representation that as that plan makes it indispensible, that the Legislatures of the Colonies should be exclusively empowered to levy the taxes for each of their Colonies; so we have not claimed for our deputies to the Imperial Parliament, to vote on a question of the taxation of the people of Great Britain. But as these Colonies are greatly interested in the question of peace or war, it is perhaps possible the Imperial Parliament might allow to our Representatives the right to deliver their opinions on the great question of peace or war, though not to vote on it.

I observe, further, that a very wealthy district of Upper Canada, as has been notified in the last Session of the Hon. House of Assembly, intends to petition Her Majesty either to unite all the Provinces of British North America or otherwise to dissolve the union of the Canadas, and I have now only to repeat my observation in the foregoing pages of this work, that the progressing state of these Provinces will probably require some movement on the part of the Imperial Parliament to meet it, if they intend to preserve the integrity of the Empire.

The applause and enconiums gained by the United Provinces in the late Industrial Exhibitions of England and France, may give the British Ministry a fair idea of what this country is likely to become in a few years, and although Mr. Molesworth has attempted to shew by his calculations, that the Colonies are an incumbrance on the British nation, I trust I have also shewn, in my work on the "Present Condition of Canada," published here, that Mr. Molesworth's calculations are founded on short sighted views, that in them he has omitted the most important one, namely, that these Provinces double in twenty to twenty-five years, and some times much oftener, and that as the cost of their government instead of increasing was probably diminishing, therefore, the value of these Colonies to Great Britain will be greatly increased, for their demand for manufactured goods will be doubled as the population doubles. I humbly conceive, therefore, that any Ministry that incurs the risk of detaching these Provinces from the Empire, by any such vaccillation of conduct, will incur a terrific responsibility to their country; and, that on the contrary it will be their highest wisdom to unite them, integrally, by a fairly modified representation in the Imperial Parliament, and thereby secure to this Great Empire the talents, zeal, genius, and wisdom of every portion of it.

PART III.

Some remarks on the Hon. Mr. Hincks' answer to the Hon. Joseph Howe's (of Nova Scotia) plan of Representation of the North American Colonies in the Imperial Parliament.

It appears that in the month of March, 1854, the Hon. Joseph Howe delivered a speech in the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, or published a pamphlet in Halifax of that date, containing a plan for procuring the representation of the Provinces and Colonies in the Imperial Parliament. This plan of Mr. Howe's he republished, it seems, in London, where the Hon. Mr. Hincks then was, who replied to it I believe in another pamphlet.

Having first published my plan for getting this representation for the Canadas in 1839, I had forwarded twelve copies of that work to Mr. Howe's brother in Halifax, who then was editor of one of the Halifax papers. My plan of that date, 1839, was precisely the same as what I have now presented in this work with some additions.

The plan presented by Mr. Howe in his speech or pamphlet I have not seen, but in a letter of his, addressed to Mr. Hincks, he states the general nature of his plan to be a representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament. In that letter, however, he does not explain whether the present Legislatures of the Colonies are to be retained and to possess as they now do the exclusive right of levying revenue on their people.

In a part of his pamphlet, Mr. Hincks charges Mr. Howe with intending, by the plan of representation he has brought farward to overthrow the Constitution of the Provinces, and thereby to produce the dismemberment of the Empire. Now if that plan goes to deprive the Provinces of their own Legislatures to levy

revenues, the charge would certainly be correct? but if that plan suffers them to remain in free force, and these Legislatures are solely to be represented in the Imperial Parliament, but without the power of taxing the Colonies, this would not overthrow the Constitution of the Provinces, but rather support and invigorate it, and the charge of Hincks on Howe would rather revert against himself, as to overthrowing the Constitution, for I believe he always voted and advocated, while in Nova Scotia, for the overthrow of the Legislative Council as far as its appointment went by the Crown, which I consider to be a great security for the Union of these Provinces with the Parent State.

Again, by the aforesaid letter to Mr. Hincks, Mr. Howe complains much, that Colonists are never advanced to offices in the British Government and claims that right equally with all other subjects. Of this claim, there can be no doubt. If Representatives, who should be deputed from the Colonies to sit in Parliament, or indeed any individual Colonists whatever, seek appointments, and obtain them from the British Ministry, they certainly have as much right to accept them as any other subject. But then, these Representatives would have to resign those seats until re-elected by their constituents in the Colonies.

Mr. Hincks seems to accuse Mr. Howe of throwing out certain threats in case of a refusal, by the Imperial Government, of representation of the Colonies. If any such threats have been made by him, or any one else, they must certainly be considered as absurd and unauthorized by the Colony of Nova Scotia, and certainly not thought of by any other, that I am aware of.

In some part of Mr. Hincks' pamphlet he mentions that the practice in the United States in the representation in Congress, of what they name "United States Territories, is as he says "They are simply permitted to send deputies to Congress, who may *speak but not vote.*

This practice then, may be considered as a kind of precedent for my plan of representation, in that Im-

perial Parliament, namely, to vote on all questions relating to the Colonies, but not to *vote* on any question of taxation of the people of England.

Mr. Hincks, moreover, referring to the representation of the Colonies in the Parliament, says, that representation of them in the Imperial Parliament, unaccompanied by our participation in all the Imperial liabilities, would be a most unreasonable demand.

Now it must be allowed that if the Colonies demanded from the Imperial Parliament a right to sit there, and vote on all questions of taxation of the people of Great Britain, and at the same time that their own Colonial Legislatures should have the exclusive right to raise their own taxes in their Colony, Hincks' remark would then be correct; but, in my plan of representation, it is expressly stated, that as each Colony is to have their right, exclusively of the Imperial Parliament, therefore, we do not claim for our Representatives to have the right of voting on any question of taxation of the people of England. This demand of a modified representation appears to me perfectly just and reasonable; and that it would tend to give to these Colonies that elevation which their advanced and advancing situations will soon require, and which it is probable the Imperial Government will accede to.

Mr. Hincks, it is true, has resided a long time in Canada, and displayed considerable talent in it, still he is not a Canadian; I am, and feel that the country being now so advanced, has a fair claim and right to some voice in the general interests and government of the Empire.

I now present some remarks on the conclusion of the Russian war:

Since the completion of the manuscript of this work, Sebastopol the great, has fallen by the indomitable valour of the French and British armies. The fleet—*that Russian fleet*, which was the cause of the former conference for Peace, being broken up, has, as it is said, been destroyed by them, lest it should fall into our possession, and, thank God, a great obstacle for peace is destroyed along with it.

This Peace then, is at last concluded, and the great question I wish to consider is, how this Peace is to be rendered durable or permanent.

There appears to me two ways to effect the procuration of this vast blessing.

The allied powers, previously to the conclusion of Peace, seemed to have declared from what I have been able to collect from the speeches of the Government, and of influencial Members of Parliament, that they must have security given by Russia, that she would not in future invade the rights and liberties of other nations. Well, what kind of security is that to be? Mere treaties and promises contained therein may be evaded, and we appear to have little faith in any such.

It is considered by those who seem to believe in the almost omnipotent power of Russia, and the ambitious designs of its government, that the conquest of Turkey is its object in order to enable it to overthrow our power in the East Indies, and of course to gain possession of that country.

If then a treaty, offensive and defensive were made between Turkey on one part, and England, France, and any other powers that might agree to join in it on the other. By means of such a treaty as this, and due preparation made to carry it into effect, would it not be shewn to the Russian government that the acquisition of Turkey was unattainable, and would it not therefore cease to attempt it?

The second plan I would propose for the securing the blessings of this permanent Peace is—

That Great Britain should immediately proceed to concentrate all the power of her Empire by the principle of representative government, introduced into all her Colonies, east, west, north, and south.

And now I proceed to consider the consequences of such a measure on the strength and elevation of her Empire.

With respect to the Representative Union of all the British Colonies with the Imperial Parliament, it will be recollected by the reader, that in a former part of this work, I have shewn that the profound author of the "Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith, has stated

in that immortal work, that if the American States had been represented in the British Parliament, that measure would have opened a great safety valve for the desire of promotion and for the ambition of the leading men in those States, which would probably have prevented the separation from Great Britain. So, in the same way, do I believe, that were all the Colonies now duly represented in Great Britain, all the power of the Empire being thus concentrated, the strength and elevation of it would rise proportionably in the estimation of the European nations.

So far then, as to the defence of our East India possessions by the means of Representative Government.

The same good effects would most probably ensue in all our national concerns. The entire physical force of the Empire being thus concentrated by a due participation in the Government by every part of it, every part would be interested in its preservation and defence as the great Palladium of its own rights and liberties, and it would be difficult to conceive that any nation would, without great provocation, involve itself in a war with an Empire thus constituted; and therefore, we might with good reason expect the present Peace to be durable and perhaps permanent.

It is possible, however, that before these blessings could be effected, a powerful mind must arise to direct the councils of our nation—a mind superior to the ruling fancies or passions of the day, and whose breast is animated with the feelings of humanity, love of peace and philanthropy, worthy of the nineteenth century. A mind of this description might, by concentrating all the forces of this mighty Empire, give to its people, and to mankind, a secure and permanent Peace. And it is possible that the present condition of Old England may yet generate such a mind, which that the Almighty may so dispose, is the prayer of the Author of this work.

Having brought the manuscript of this work to this point, it is with much satisfaction I have to state that from the glorious accounts we have since received from the East Indies, it appears that the sun is not yet to *set on the British Dominions*; and I now pro-

ceed to advance the great, additional and powerful inducements this favorable turn of events in that part of the Empire affords us for endeavoring to obtain the elevation of our country by the representation of all the Colonies in the Imperial Legislature. I verily believe, on a sound review of the past and present state and condition of India, there is no other mode of government of that country which will secure its permanent tranquility.

With the view then of elucidating this opinion, I shall have to shew considerable extracts from works of eminent writers upon Indian Affairs. The loss of that vast and wealthy country, would of course be immense to England, and some have even stated the idea, it would prove her ruin ; and indeed if the ideas which have of late gained ground, that the shortest, cheapest, and therefore the best channel for the transport of the goods (hitherto sent by sea to and from India, China and England), come to be verified and acted upon, by the construction of a railroad to the Pacific through Canada, there is no doubt that the possession of Great Britain of those East India settlements and their tranquil government will be almost of as great importance to Canada as that of her own.

This Canada, as some old country people call it, is the country of my birth, and for which I have during many years endeavored by such abilities as I may possess, to advance the agriculture, commerce and general prosperity.

Many respectable persons have come to Canada in pursuits of trade and commerce, and have indeed tended to augment these elements of her prosperity ; but it appears to me they cannot feel the same exalted desire for her advancement as a native born and well informed Canadian. Nature herself instils into such a mind a peculiar feeling of this sort, he appropriates to himself the grand and noble gift of Providence of such a country, and casting his mind's eye over the immense extent of its improvements, he feels therefore, an unalloyed wish to extend them. He is at home in every exertion so to do, and it is not only

the present condition of his country that thus animates him, but also the prospects of a great future for her.

But, when he observes the augmented violence of party spirit which has existed of late years, and is still existing in our Province; when he remembers that during these years a not uninfluential part of the population, actually began to think of a separation from the Parent State by annexation with a neighbouring republic; when he perceives at this present day, the virulent opposition of parties producing charges of the grossest corruption in the State, which must tend if believed in, to bring the Government of the country into downright contempt, and thereby produce seditious and hostile movements of a part of the people; he naturally enquires, why these charges, if unfounded, as they are said to be, are not rebutted by constitutional legal means? And if he does make such enquiry, he will probably be told, as I have been, that this practice has grown common in this free country, and these charges are not heeded.

Now, I do thank God, that this my country is free; but I thank Him as devoutly that in it there are laws to protect the characters of its inhabitants from unjust aspersion and unfounded defamation, for without such laws the existence of any Government, of whatever party, must be perilled and unstable, and the public peace destroyed. Again, should one party maintain its majority for a short time only, this state of virulent opposition might be only shifted from one party to the other; but should the former party maintain its majority for a great length of time, it is probable the political passions of the outs might be greatly augmented; for although we may allow that much of its opposition arose from an opinion of the misgovernment, or inability of that in power, it is yet highly probable that a much greater part may be secretly induced by the desire for place and power. Now to what this unceasing contest for place and power might in time lead, it is impossible to say; but as experience is the mother of wisdom, let us advert to the opinion on this subject to the celebrated Adam

Smith, on the method of preventing the War of Independence that took place with our late American Colonies.

"Thus a new method of acquiring importance, a new and more dazzling object of ambition would be presented to the leading men of each Colony. Instead of peddling for the little prizes which are to be found in what may be called the paltry raffle of a Colony faction, they may then hope from the presumption which men naturally have in their own abilility and good fortune, to draw some of the great prizes which sometimes come from the whole of the great state lottery of British politics. Unless this or some other method is fallen upon, and there seem to be none more obvious than this of preserving the importance and of gratifying the ambition of the leading men in America, it is not very probable that they will ever voluntarily submit to us, and we ought to consider that the blood which must be shed in forcing them to do so is, every drop of it—the blood—either of those who are, or of those whom we wish to have for our fellow citizens."

Joseph Hume, in his plan of Representation of the Colonies of Great Britain in the Imperial House of Commons, which, as is just shewn, was approved of by all parties in that House, proposed four Members to represent the East Indies, and I cannot but believe that had this been done it would have prevented the doleful events that had just happened there. How this would have been effected, I trust to shew in the course of this work. Now although it is impossible to foretel what may be the evil issues of a long continued state of virulence of party spirit in this Province, and although we may hope and pray that such issues may be overruled by a merciful Providence, still we know that such political passions go on by what may be called a geometrical progression, and we say that all real lovers of their country have a desire to prevent their evil effects, and to do so I proceed with my plan of Representation in the Imperial Parliament by Federal Union.

Sometime before the late disturbances in the Province broke out, during the great disputes between the Colonial Government and the Houses of Assembly, Lord John Russell dispatched a letter to the then Governor General, reflecting on those disputes, and stating to him, that he would find no surer way

of securing the approbation of the Crown, than preserving good terms with both Houses of Assembly, some time after this the House in a Memorial to the British Government, declared their right to Responsible Government as part of the constitution of Great Britain, and altho' it has since then, and is now generally believed to be conceded to by the British Government, yet no direct Act of the British Parliament has to my knowledge been enacted to that effect. Now responsible Government as I understand it, is that the Governor General of the Province shall be guided by his Council, and that this Council is to be responsible to the other branches of the Legislature for their administration.

Allowing this responsibility to be thus far established, there can be no doubt that a very important part of the constitution of Great Britain is thus given to the Province, and provided it be regulated by reasonable compromise and actual concessions between the parties, it may be beneficial. But with respect to the virulence of these parties, I think it equally certain that it has much augmented since this responsibility has been in practice, and in the case above mentioned of either party being kept out of power for numbers of years this virulence may continue to augment to the detriment of the peace and advancement of the United Province.

Now one great and effective means to prevent this, I consider, would be to obtain the right of the Legislatures of the Colonies to depute a certain number of Representatives from their Body to represent them and the Province in the House of Commons of the Imperial Parliament, by this means it is probable some of the most restless men would find a higher and more alluring field for *their ambition*.

"It was important that the House should be placed in a situation in which the best information might be obtained with regard to the Colonies, if it were only to avoid the recurrence of those evils which the British Legislature had before inadvertently and unadvisedly fallen into. He conceived that such an alteration would place England in a much better relative situation as regards its Colonies. Hitherto a large portion of British subjects, resident in the Colonies, were

deprived of any legitimate mode of laying their wants and wishes before that House. It was true some gentlemen connected with the Colonies found their way into the House. But one of the greatest and most striking objections to the Reform Bill had been that, when it came into operation, the same means would not exist for enabling gentlemen connected with the Colonies to obtain seats; and a large portion, if not the whole, of the Colonies would be left without any legitimate mode of conveying their wishes or wants to the Imperial Legislature."

When I reflect on the great advancement that has taken place in British North America since my first remembrance, it would appear to me she might well be contented with those natural powers of advancement which her existing condition still presents to her, yet we find the Lower Provinces are moving to endeavour to obtain this Representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament as is stated by Mr. Howe, of Nova Scotia, in his letters or Pamphlets on this subject, and certainly, Canada, as the most populous Province, has much more cause to seek for it; and I cannot but believe, could we obtain this right and privilege of Representation, numbers of persons of property would emigrate to this Province on account of it. Moreover, had we men of zeal and talents sufficient to procure it, they might, from their Seats in the British House of Commons, discover sources of trade and commerce for it yet unforeseen. The Black Sea, for instance, is said to offer a great source, and Africa by the late discoveries in that Country of Livingston.*

* From Livingston's Missionary Travels in South Africa, in chapter 4th, page 104, "Mr. Oswell and I then proceeded 130 miles to the north east, to Lespeke, and in the end of June, 1851, we were rewarded by the discovery of the river Zambeen, in the centre of the Antinne, and if any thing like a chain of trading nations had existed across this country, between the latitudes 12° 18° south, this magnificent portion of the river must have been known before we saw it at the end of the rainy season, at the time when the river is about its lowest, and yet there is as a breadth of from 3 to 6 hundred yards of deep flowing water. Mr. Oswell said he had never seen such a fine river, even in India; at the period of its annual inundunation it will rise full twenty feet in perpendicular height, and floods 15 or 20 miles of land adjacent to its banks." It is probable then that a great source of trade will be found up this river Zambeen.

May we not also hope and expect that as great changes will probably ensue in the Government of India, new sources of Trade may be opened in that rich and extensive Country.

Now, notwithstanding the general contentment of the people of these Provinces with their present condition as Colonies, there is yet, with many, altho' the idea of annexation with the States, has disappeared, and which indeed considering the present state of these States as to commercial troubles could not but be reasonably expected, still there are people in these Provinces who look for something beyond, something in the shape perhaps of independence of the Province, but as we have in our present condition neither army, navy, nor money to maintain this independence against the despotic powers of the world, therefore we may, I consider, congratulate ourselves if we can make such an arrangement with Great Britain as will in fact give us that Independence equally with our fellow subjects there and secure it to us by the vast power of Her arms from any attempts to invade it.

It appears that Lord Bury, formerly Secretary to our Governor General, in a speech, he (Lord Bury) delivered, I believe in Manchester, favored this idea of representation of the British of Colonies in the Imperial Parliament: but he appeared to recommend its being brought about be sending Ambassadors to England for the purpose: now that would be putting us in the light of a foreign Nation which we are not, and it would also prevent us from what, by my plan, I conceive is very desirable, namely: the assimilation of all Her Colonies, so as to form a perfectly integral part of Her Empire, and thereby have a vote or voice in those affairs which may affect ourselves.

The consideration of this representation of the Colonies in the Parliament of Great Britain is indeed yet in Embryo. Many talented men have supported it, and I now strenuously call attention of these British North American Colonies to this very important question of Federal Union; for, should we be enabled to obtain the establishment of the plan I have hereby the honor to propose to them, of a modified representation of them in the Imperial Parliament, it

would, I feel persuaded, elevate the position of our country to that station which I consider its Agricultural advancement and capabilities, its commercial habits and its intelligent and energetic character, entitled to.

I cannot therefore but believe in consistence with these ideas which I have long reflected on, that those honorable, loyal and intelligent minds of these Provinces, who have formed just and sound ideas of the truest interests thereof, will agree that those interests will be best secured by a just representation of their Legislatures in the Imperial Parliament, and more particularly I trust and hope that some of our able and zealous Members of our Provincial Parliament will deeply reflect on the honor and elevation that will be thus conferred upon these Provinces and on themselves, and that they will therefore gladly employ their abilities for the promotion of these Provinces by this plan of Representative Union.*

Having now shown how the evil of two virulent contention between political parties in the Province may, in my long considered opinion, be mutually conciliated or softened down, and the Province elevated to that dignified station which her present advanced condition seems to require, I now proceed to consider this question of Colonial representation in the Parliament of Great Britain in a much more extended and national sense, namely: in reference to its probable effects on our vast East India Possessions, both as a cure for the past dreadful events which have lately taken place in that Country, also as a powerful, and I trust, certain preventative from such dreadful events in future:

"Insubordination and mutiny, it was found, are not faults of recent growth among the native troops of India. Now that

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* So that by this great measure of representation of all her Colonies, the mother country may be enabled to avail herself of the opportunities to be thoroughly informed of the existing condition of every one of them—may be enabled to redress all well-founded discontents, advance their commercial capacities, and avail herself also of the united talent, energies and genius of every part of her great Empire.

the startling events of 1857 are vividly presented to the public mind, men begin to read again the old story of the outbreak at Vellore, and seek to draw instruction therefrom. A little more than half a century ago—namely, on the 10th of July 1806—the European barracks at Vellore were thrown into a state of great excitement. This town is in the Carnatic, a few miles west of Madras, and in the presidency of the same name. At two o'clock in the morning, the barracks, containing four companies of the 69th regiment, were surrounded by two battalions of sepoys in the Company's service, who poured in a heavy fire of musketry, at every door and window, upon the soldiers. At the same time the European sentries, the soldiers at the main-guard, and the sick in the hospital, were put to death. The officers' houses were ransacked, and everybody found in them murdered. Upon the arrival of the 19th Light Dragoons, under Colonel Gillespie, the sepoys were immediately attacked; six hundred were cut down upon the spot, and two hundred taken from their hiding-places to be shot. There perished of the four European companies, a hundred and sixty-four, besides officers; and many British officers of the native troops were also murdered. Nothing ever came to light concerning the probable cause of the outrage, but this—that an attempt had been made by the military men at Madras to *change the shape of the sepoy turban* into something resembling the helmet of the light infantry of Europe, which would prevent the native troops from wearing on their foreheads the marks characteristic of their several castes. The sons of Tippoo Saib, the deposed ruler of Mysore, together with many distinguished Mohammedans deprived of office, were at that time in Vellore; and the supposition is, that these men contributed very materially to excite or inflame the suspicions of the Hindoos, concerning an endeavour to tamper with their religious usages. There was another mutiny some time afterwards at Nundeydroog, in the same presidency; and it was found indispensable to disarm four hundred and fifty Mohammedan sepoys, who had planned a massacre. At Bangalore and other places a similar spirit was exhibited. The governor of Madras deemed it necessary, in very earnest terms, to disclaim any intention of tampering with the native religion. In a proclamation issued on the 3rd of December, he said: 'The right honorable the governor in council having observed that, in some late instances, an extraordinary degree of agitation has prevailed among several corps of the native army of this coast, it has been his lordship's particular endeavour to ascertain the motives which may have led to conduct so different from that which formerly distinguished the native army. From this inquiry, it has appeared that many persons of evil intention have endeavoured, for mali-

cious purposes, to impress upon the native troops a belief that it is the wish of the British government to convert them by forcible means to Christianity; and his lordship in council has observed with concern that such malicious reports have been believed by many of the native troops. The right honorable the governor in council, therefore, deems it proper, in this public manner, to repeat to the native troops his assurance, that the same respect which has been invariably shewn by the British government for their religion and their customs, will be always continued; and that no interruption will be given to any native, whether Hindoo or Mussulman, in the practice of his religious ceremonies.' Notwithstanding the distinctness of this assurance, and notwithstanding the extensive promulgation of the proclamation in the Tamul, Telinga, and Hindustani languages—the ferment continued a considerable time. Even in March 1807 when some months had elapsed, so universal was the dread of a general revolt among the native troops, that the British officers attached to the Madras army constantly slept with loaded pistols under their pillows."

The causes of this sudden outbreak in possessions which have now been for centuries under British rule, have been variously stated by sundry writers.

Last Night (January, 22d 1858,) I attended a Lecture given in Toronto by a Gentleman who had long resided in India, He attributed the outbreak to the existing practice of the Castes of the Country.*

He supported the conduct of the East India Company, against the charge of having done nothing for the progress of the Country, and said on the contrary that they had done as much as was done during the course of forty years. Respecting Missionaries of Religion sent India, he observed that the mithe be allowed to preach the Christian religion then, but that if any particular favors or encouragement were granted them by the Government, the same scenes as had taken place at Lucknow and Campore, would be renewed.†

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* Stating that by educating the native population, the practice of the Castes will be done away, that it was the opposition between the Castes kept them quiet, but by educating them the Castes will be destroyed and they will then unite in a rebellion.

† This Lecture appears to be of considerable talent, and we shall give our own ideas of the true cause of the outbreak, in the sequel of this work.

I shall now give an extract on the subject of India, from Lord Metcalfe's papers, edited by J. W. Kaye, London, 1855 ;

" He then proceeds to urge the claims of the village Zemindars to consideration, as having the best title to enter into direct engagements with the Government for the land revenue, and continues :—' Settlements should be made for periods of ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or one hundred years,—the longer, perhaps, the better. At all events the periods should be sufficiently long to admit of considerable profit being made by the cultivators from their own labour and enterprise. This is the very essence of the system.'

" ' On the good effects of such a system as this' (we now quote the commentary of Mr. Kaye,) ' Metcalfe descanted with no common earnestness. He wrote as one whose whole soul was in the cause. He showed how wealth would be accumulated—how security would engender providence, and how a spirit of independence would be acquired—how commerce and education would be promoted—how the people would be elevated in the social scale, and rise to the height of moral and intellectual grandeur, never attained by them before. It was nothing, he argued, that by so raising them, we might teach them, in time, to emancipate themselves from our yoke. In spite of all such considerations as this, our duty, he said, was clear.'

" Upon this latter point it is due to Lord Metcalfe's memory to quote his own language. He said :—

" ' There may be those who would argue that it is injudicious to establish a system which, by exciting a free and independent character, may possibly lead, at a future period, to dangerous consequences. . . . But, supposing the remote possibility of these evil consequences, that would not be a sufficient reason for withholding any advantage from our subjects. Similar objections have been made against our attempting to promote the education of our native subjects ; but how unworthy it would be of a liberal government to give weight to such objections. The world is governed by an irresistible Power,—which giveth and taketh away dominion, and vain would be the impotent prudence of men against the operations of its Almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India and the admiration of the world will accompany our name throughout all ages, whatever may be the revolutions of futurity ; but if we withhold blessings from our subjects, from a selfish apprehension of possible danger at a remote period, we shall merit that reverse which time

has possibly in store for us, and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt, the hisses and execrations of mankind.'

"'If this had been written yesterday' (remarks Mr. Kaye), 'there would have been nothing noticeable in it; but forty years ago such language was not often to be found in the despatches of our Indian functionaries.' This is well deserved and discriminating commendation. It is equally true and honourable to Lord Metcalfe that twenty succeeding years of uninterrupted success and advancement, terminating in *the* attainment of the highest station in the Government of India,—perhaps the proudest elevation to which a British subject can be raised,—had failed to debauch the simple integrity of his understanding, or to abate the earnestness with which he paid homage to the great principles which ought to govern the administration of our empire in the East.

"'If,' he said in 1835, 'their argument be that the spread of knowledge may eventually be fatal to our rule in India, I close with them on that point, and maintain that, whatever may be the consequence, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge. If India could only be preserved as a part of the British Empire, by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, our domination would be a curse to the country, and ought to cease.

"But I see more ground for just apprehension in ignorance itself. I look to the increase of knowledge, with a hope that it may strengthen our empire; that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities, and substitute a rational conviction of the benefits of our Government; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy; and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened, and ultimately annihilated. Whatever, however, be the will of Almighty Providence respecting the future government of India, it is clearly our duty, as long as the charge be confided to our hands, to execute the trust to the best of our ability, for the good of the people. The promotion of knowledge (of which the liberty of the press is one of the most efficient instruments), is manifestly an essential part of that duty. It cannot be that we are permitted by Divine Authority to be here merely to collect the revenues of the country, pay the establishments necessary to keep possession, and get into debt to supply the deficiency. We are, doubtless, here for higher purposes; one of which is to pour the enlightened knowledge and civilization, the arts and sciences of Europe, over the land, and thereby improve the condition of the people. Nothing, surely, is more likely to conduce to these ends than the liberty of the Press.'"

I make these Extracts in justice to Lord Metcalfe's

memory to show how unjustly he was accused by certain persons in this Province, of being an East India tyrant.

It was also stated by the Lecturer on India, given last evening here, that the Natives of a part of India had formed themselves into a Society, and had translated into their own language some of the papers of certain Foreign Nations, which papers were very inimical to the British Government, and which, if I rightly understood the Lecturer, was one cause of the outbreak.

It would appear then that if the Natives of India are to be allowed the boon of a free Press, it should be granted on certain conditions and restrictons, for in Great Britain herself the Press is liable to the restrictions and penalties of the Laws.

If then it be realy the case that a society is formed for overthrowing British rule, it offers a more powerful argument for some means to be immediately taken by that Government to prevent this issue, and none will be more effectual than giving their leading men a part of the free Government we enjoy.

I have given in this work all the debates that took place in the Imperial House of Commons, on the introduction of Hume's motion there for the repre sentation of all the Colonies in that House, by which debates it appeared that all parties agreed that it ought to be done. To represent India four Members were allotted by Hume's motion, and I have but little doubt if that great event had taken place at that time, the dreadful scenes that have lately happened in that Country would have been avoided.

In regard to the causes that have produced these outbreaks, we must first observe that we have 180 millions of people to govern and keep quiet there. Now these people were, before our conquest of them, under the rule of various Princes of that country ; and if we revert to the numerous crimes that have taken place in many countries of Europe, and even in our own, in ancient times, for the acquisition of supreme power, we shall, I believe, acquire a great insight into the causes that have produced these outbreaks in India. Numerous have been the instances where

monarchs, in various parts of Europe, have slaughtered their own relations for that purpose. I believe what was stated by the Lecturer above mentioned: that Great Britain obtained possession of India first by making commercial treaties with the Powers there established, and which treaties being broken by their Powers, occasioned the wars in which by conquest Great Britain acquired her possessions in that country. Various wars have occurred there since that time, no doubt in the view of regaining their ancient possessions by those Princes. Indeed it shews us the nature of that country, as I have heard to my astonishment, that the British government had before the outbreak no less than 200,000 of these Sepoys and other natives in their army of India! On my enquiring the cause of keeping so large an army of natives, I was told, that it was needed to keep the population in peace and order; and the idea certainly presented itself to me, that if no other and better method could be found for that great and good purpose, it would be better to abandon the country in toto. Now, I thank the Almighty Ruler that there is, I believe, a better, and a wiser and effective way to produce this good and wise end—that is, in giving it a due share of the free representative government we enjoy ourselves.

In this work, I have given the opinion of the profound author of "The Wealth of Nations," respecting the War of Independence with the American States.

This profound author there states his opinion, that if those Colonies had been represented in the British Parliament, they might have been still retained by the Crown of Great Britain.

Precisely, I believe, will be the case with our vast possessions in the East Indies.

Therein is a population of 180 millions of people—a people in whose country is found some of the finest and grandest works of art in the world; and although the great bulk of the population may not be equally advanced in point of knowledge as our own, still the Indian mind, when it has had the advantage of education, is found in possession of a considerable degree of intelligence, and they have shewn several proofs of

literary excellence.* Although it may be the fact, that the masses of this people—whether Mahomedan or Hindoo Sepoys—may not as yet be sufficiently instructed and civilized to be entrusted with the representation of a free government, yet the upper and educated classes are found possessed of great acuteness of mind. †

It appears indeed astonishing that Great Britain—possessing herself Freedom in perhaps its greatest comparative perfection—should have governed a population of 180 millions so many years, without bestowing on it some share of that precious gift which her noble and wise constitution has produced in her own dominions, her present prosperity.

I have now given the ideas of some others on the cause of the late ontbreak, and I now give my own idea of the origin of this cause. It is this:—The Kings, Princes and Rulers of India, for ages before the conquest by Great Britain, were almost absolute Sovereigns of it. They must in general have regretted the loss of that Sovereignty ever since that conquest. Accordingly, we find that frequent wars have since broken out, namely, the Sikhs, Affghans, &c. I therefore conclude that the true cause and the origin of this outbreak has been the desire of those Kings, Princes and former Rulers to recover their ancient possessions, and, with this view, they have worked upon the fears for their religion, which we know are so easily excited in the natives of India, and taken the opportunity offered them, by the Government sending out a great part of the European army to Persia, to begin this outbreak.

I shall now present some extracts from the Chronicle

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* Extract from History of India, in the Library of Legislative Assembly:—"India, previous to British conquest, was governed by its Kings, Princes, &c., and, as far back as the 10th century, possessed many authors of the History of their Country and those adjacent. Some were authors of books containing 4000 pages."

† For this purpose they have worked upon the religious fears for their religion of the natives, which we know are so easily excited in these people.

of the Revolt in India, by Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh—a work apparently of considerable accuracy and talent :

"How little our public men are able to foretel the course of political events in the East, is shewn by the very first paragraph of the governor general's narrative; 'When I sailed from England in the winter of 1847, to assume the government of India, there prevailed a universal conviction among public men at home that permanent peace had at length been secured in the East. Before the summer came, we were already involved in a second Sikh War.' There was a rebellion of the Dewan Moolraj against the recognised sovereign of Lahore; but the renewal of war is attributed mainly to the 'spirit of the whole Sikh people, which was inflamed by the bitterest animosity against us; when chief after chief deserted our cause, until nearly their whole army, led by sirdars who had signed the treaties and by members of the Council of Regency itself, was openly arrayed against us;' and when the Sikhs even joined with the Afghans against us. It was not a mere hostile prince, it was a hostile nation that confronted us; and the Indian Government, whether wisely or not, declared war, put forth its power, maintained a long campaign, defeated and subdued the Sikhs, drove back the insurgent Afghans, and ended by annexing the Punjaub to the British territories. Scarcely had the Anglo-Indian armies been relieved from these onerous duties, when war called them to the regions beyond the Ganges. Certain British traders in the port of Rangoon had been subjected to gross outrage by the officers of the King of Ava, in violation of a pre-existing treaty; and the Marquis of Dalhousie, acting on a high sounding dictum of Lord Wellesley, 'that an insult offered to the British flag at the mouth of the Ganges should be resented as promptly and as fully as an insult offered at the mouth of the Thames,' resolved to punish the King for those insults. That Monarch was 'arrogant and overbearing'—qualities much disapproved,—where not shewn by the Company's servants themselves; he violated treaties, insulted our traders, worried our envoys, and drove away our commercial agent at Rangoon; and as the government of India 'could never, consistently with its own safety, permit itself to stand for a single day in an attitude of inferiority towards a native power, and least of all towards the court of Ava, war was declared. After some sharp fighting, the kingdom of Pegu was taken and annexed."

I take the opportunity here of mentioning a little circumstance that had taken place in Halifax, Nova Scotia, when Earl Dalhousie—the father of the present

Earl—was Governor of Nova Scotia. His little son—the present Earl—was then nigh eight years of age, and having occasion to pass the Government House frequently, I often saw the child near it, and remember saying to him one morning: "You are, I believe, going to be a great hero!" and am happy to find he has verified my prediction, and, in addition to that, has done a vast deal for the advancement of the great country he was appointed to govern.

The next extract will shew, also, he added to the liberality of the Indian Government:

"A Legislative Council had been organised, distinct from the Supreme Council: the public having access to its deliberations, and its debates and papers being printed and issued to the world. The Indian civil service, by an act passed in 1853, had been thrown open to all who, being natural-born subjects of the British sovereign, should offer themselves as candidates for examination and admission."

"Equally in moral as in administrative matters did the Marquis of Dalhousie insist on the manifold improvements of India during the eight years preceding 1856. Schools for the education of natives had been established; the Hindoo College at Calcutta had been revived and improved; a Presidency College had been founded in the same city to give a higher scale of education to the youth of Bengal; similar colleges had been sanctioned at Madras and Bombay; grants in aid to all educational establishments had been authorized, subject to government inspection of the schools aided; a committee had been appointed to consider the plans for establishing regular universities at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras; a distinct educational department had been formed at the seat of government, with director-generals of public instruction in all the prisidencies and governments; and the East India Company had, by a dispatch framed in 1854, sanctioned a most extensive educational scheme for the whole of India, to be rendered available to all the natives who might be willing and able to claim its advantages. The delicate subject of female education had not been forgotten. Instructions had been given to the officers of the educational department to afford all possible encouragement to the establishment of female schools, whenever any disposition was shewn by the natives in that direction. There is a peculiar difficulty in all that concerns female education in India, arising from the reluctance which has always been shewn by the higher classes of natives to permit the attendance of their daughters at schools. Mr. Bethune commenced, and the Marquis of Dalhousie continued, a delicate and cau-

tious attempt to overcome this unwillingness by establishing a Hindoo ladies' school at Calcutta; and the minute gives expression to an earnest hope and belief that the female character in India will gradually be brought under the elevating influence of moral and intellectual education. As the native mind was thus sought to be ameliorated and strengthened by education; so had the prevention or cure of bodily maladies been made an object of attention Additional advantages had been granted to natives who applied themselves to the study of medical sciences; the number of dispensaries had been greatly increased, to the immence benefit of the poorer classes of Hindoos and Mohammedans; plans had been commenced for introducing a check to the dreadful ravages of the small pox; admission to the medical service of the Company had been thrown open to natives; and as a first fruit of this change, one Dr. Chuckerbutty, a Hindoo educated in England, had won for himself a commission as assistant-surgeon in the Company's service."

And now, in order to shew the great works established in India, under Earl Dalhousie's government, I make the following extract:

"The activity in irrigation-works and canal-cutting had unquestionably been very great. In 1854 the Ganges Canal was opened in its main line, for the double purpose of irrigation and navigation. A mighty work this, which no mutiny, no angry feelings, should induce the English public to forget. It is 525 miles in length, and in some parts 170 feet in width; and considered as a canal for irrigation, 'it stands unequalled in its class and character among the efforts of civilised nations. Its length is fivefold greater than that of all the main lines of Lombardy united, and more than twice the length of the aggregate irrigation lines of Lombardy and Egypt together—the only countries in the world whose works of irrigation rise above insignificance' Nor is this all. 'As a single work of navigation for purposes of commerce, the Ganges Canal has no competitor throughout the world. No single canal in Europe has attained to half the magnitude of this Indian work. It nearly equals the aggregate length of the four greatest canals in France. It greatly exceeds all the first-class canals of Holland put together; and it is greater, by nearly one-third, than the greatest navigation canal in the United States of America.' Pausing for one moment just to observe that the writer of the words here quoted seems to have temporarily forgotten the great canal of China, we proceed to state, on the authority of the minute, then when all the branches are finished, this noble Ganges Canal will be 900 miles in length. It will then, by its periodical overflowings,

irrigate *a million and a half of acres*, thus lessening the terrible apprehensions of famine or dearth among millions of human beings."

And, to shew that former Mutinies have happened before this last dreadful one :

"Again, in 1849, Sir Colin Campbell, serving under Sir Charles Napier, reported that the 22d Bengal regiment had mutinied on a question of pay, in which they were clearly in the wrong ; but as the Punjaub was at that time in a critical state, Sir Charles did that which was very opposite to his general character—he yielded to an unjust demand, as a measure of prudence. It may have been that sepoys counted on this probability when they mutinied. No less than forty-two regiments were ascertained to be in secret correspondence on this matter, under Brahminical influence—one of whom went so far as to threaten the commanding officer that they could stop enlistment if they chose. In 1850, Napier was compelled to disband the 66th regiment, for mutiny at Peshawur. In 1852, the 38th regiment was ordered to proceed to Burmah ; the men objected to the sea-voyage, and refused to depart ; and the authorities in this case gave way."

In order to give the reader some explanation on the subject of the cartridge question, I add the following extract :

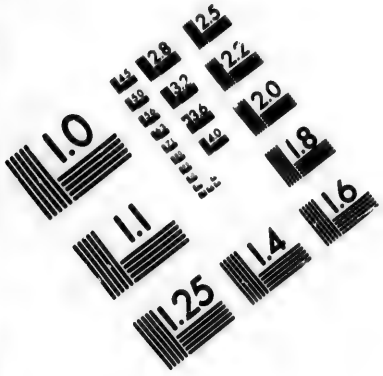
"To return now to the affair at Dumdum. When the complaints and suspicions of the sepoys were made known, inquiries were sent to England for exact particulars relating to the obnoxious missiles. It was ascertained that the new cartridges were made at the Royal Laboratory at Woolwich ; and that Captain Boxer, the superintendent of that department, was accustomed to use for lubrication a composition formed of five parts tallow, five parts stearine, and one part wax—containing, therefore, ox or cow's fat, but none from pigs. He had no prejudices in the matter to contend against in England, and used therefore just such a composition as appeared to him most suitable for the purpose. The cartridges were not sent out to India ready greased for use ; as, in a hot country, the grease would soon be absorbed by the paper : there was, therefore, a part of the process left to be accomplished when the cartridges reached their destination.

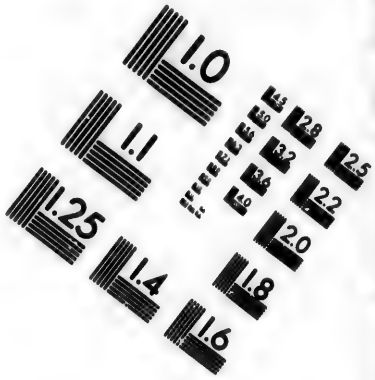
"It appears to have been in the latter part of January that the first open manifestation was made at Dum Dum of a disinclination to use the cartridges ; and immediately a correspondence among the authorities commenced concerning it. When the complaint had been made, the men were seeming-

ly appeased on being assured that the matter would be duly represented ; and as a means of conciliation, cartridges without grease were issued, the men being allowed to apply any lubricating substance they chose. It was further determined that no more ready-made cartridges should be obtained from England, but that bullets and paper should be sent separately, to be put together in India ; that experiments should be made at Woolwich, to produce some lubricating substance free from any of the obnoxious ingredients ; and that other experiments should meanwhile be made by the 60th Rifles—at that time stationed at Meerut—having the same object in view.

"During the inquiry into the manifestation and alleged motives of this insubordination, one fact was elicited, which, if correct, seems to point to a date when the conspirators—whoever they may have been—began to act upon the dupes. On the 22d of January, a low-caste Hindoo asked a sepoy of the 2d Bengal Grenadiers to him a little water from his lota or bottle ; the other, being a Brahmin, refused, on the ground that the applicant would defile the vessel by his touch—a magnificence of class superiority to which only the Hindoo theory could afford place. This refusal was met by a retort, that the Brahmin need not pride himself on his caste, for he would soon lose it, as he would ere long required to bite off the ends of cartridges covered with the fat of pigs and cows. The Brahmin, alarmed, spread the report ; and the native troops as is alleged, were afraid that when they went home their friends would refuse to eat with them. When this became known to the English officers, the native troops were drawn up on parade, and encouraged to state the grounds of their dissatisfaction. All the native sergeants and corporals, and two-thirds of all the privates, at once stepped forward, expressed their abhorrence of having to touch anything containing the fat of cows or pigs, and suggested the employment of wax or oil for lubricating the cartridges. It was then that the conciliatory measures, noticed above, were adopted.

"Still were there troubles and suspicious circumstances ; but the scene is now transferred from Dumdum to Barrackpore. This town, sixteen miles from Calcutta, is worthy of note chiefly for its connection with the supreme government of India. The governor-general has a sort of suburban residence there, handsome, commodious, and situated in the midst of a very beautiful park. There are numerous bungalows or villas inhabited by European families, drawn to the spot by the salubrity of the air, by the beauty of the Hoogly branch of the Ganges, at this place three-quarters of a mile in width, and by the garden and promenade attached to the governor-general's villa. In military matters, before the Revolt, there was a 'presidency division of the army,' of





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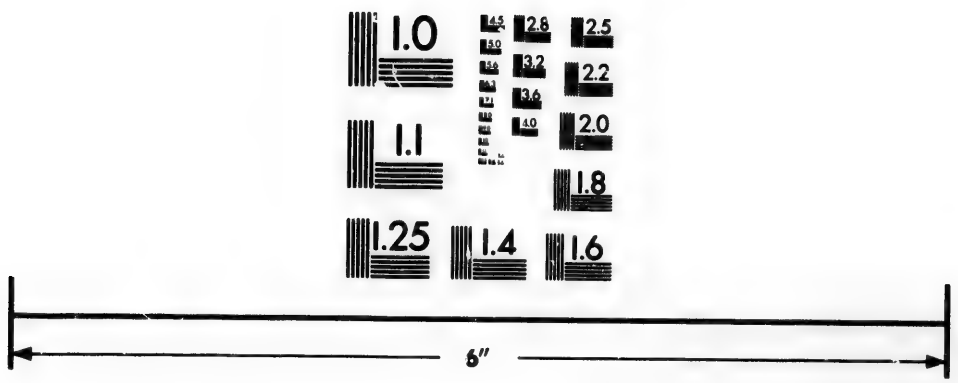

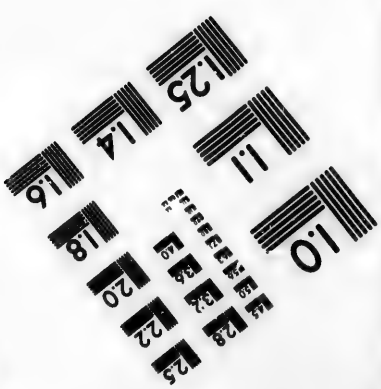

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which some of the troops were in Calcutta, some at Barrackpore, and a small force of artillery at Dumdum, nearly midway between the two places; the whole commanded by a general officer at Barrackpore, under whom was a brigadier to command that station only. The station is convenient for military operations in the eastern part of Bengal, and for any sudden emergencies at Calcutta. Six regiments of native infantry were usually cantoned at Barrackpore, with a full complement of officers: the men hutted in commodious lines, and the officers accommodated in bungalows or lodges.

"It was at this place that the discontent next shewed itself, much to the vexation of the government, who had hoped that the Dumdum affair had been satisfactorily settled, and who had explained to the native regiments at Barrackpore what had been done to remove the alleged cause of complaint. The sepoys at this place, however, made an objection to bite off the ends of the cartridges—a necessary preliminary to the loading of a rifle—on account of the animal fat contained, or supposed to be contained, in the grease with which the paper was lubricated: such fat not being permitted to touch the lips or tongues of the men, under peril of defilement. Some of the authorities strongly suspected that this renewed discontent was the work of secret agitators rather than a spontaneous expression of the men's real feeling. There was at the time a religious Hindoo society or party at Calcutta, called the Dhurma Sobha, suspected of having spread rumors that the British government intended to compel the Hindoos to become Christians. Contemporaneously, too, with this movement, three incendiary fires took place at Barrackpore within four days; and a native sergeant's bungalow was burnt down at Raneegunge, another military station in Lower Bengal. It was natural, therefore, that General Hearsey, the responsible officer at Barrackpore, should wish to ascertain what connection, if any, existed between these incendiarisms, intrigues, complainings, and greased cartridges. This was the more imperative, on account of the relative paucity of English troops in that part of India. There were four native regiments quartered at that time at Barrackpore—namely, the 2d Grenadiers, the 34th and 70th Native Infantry, and the 43d Native Light Infantry; whereas, in the four hundred miles between Calcutta and Dinapoor there was only one European regiment, the Queen's 53d foot, of which one half was at Calcutta and the other half at Dumdum. The general held a special court of enquiry at Barrackpore on the 6th of February, and selected a portion of the 2d native Grenadier regiment to come forward and explain the cause of their continued objection to the paper of which the new rifle-cartridges were composed. One of the sepoys, Byjonath Pandy, stated that he felt a suspicion that the paper might affect his caste.

On being asked his reason for this suspicion, he answered that the paper was a new kind which he had not seen before; and there was a 'bazaar report' that the paper contained animal fat. On being requested to examine the paper carefully in the light, and to explain to the court what he saw objectionable in it, he replied that his suspicion proceeded from the paper being stiff and cloth-like, and from its tearing differently from the paper formerly in use. Another sepoy, Chaud Khan, was then examined. He objected to the paper because it was tough, and burned as if it contained grease. He stated that much dismay had been occasioned in the regiment by the fact that 'on the 4th of February a piece of the cartridge-paper was dipped in water, and then burned; when burning, it made a fizzing noise, and smelt as if there were grease in it.' Thereupon a piece of the paper was burned in open court; Chaud Khan confessed that he could not smell or see grease in it; but he repeated his objection to the use of the paper, on the plea that 'everybody is dissatisfied with it on account of its being glazed, shining like waxed cloth.' Another witness, Khadu Buksh, filling the rank of subadar or native captain, on being examined, frankly stated that he had no objection to the cartridge itself, but that there was a general report in the cantonment that the paper was made up with fat. A jemadar or lieutenant, named Golal Khan, said very positively: 'There is grease in it, I feel assured; as it differs from the paper which has heretofore ~~been~~ always been used for cartridges.' As shewing the well-known power of what in England would be called 'public opinion,' the answer of one of the sepoys is worthy of notice; he candidly confessed that he himself had no objection to use the cartridges, but he could not do so, as his companions would object to it. While these occurrences were under scrutiny, a jemandar of the 34th regiment came forward to narrate wha the knew on the matter, as affording proof of conspiracy. On the 5th, when the fear of detection had begun to work among them, two or three of the sepoys came to him, and asked him to accompany them to the parade ground. He did so, and there found a great crowd assembled, composed of men of the different regiments at the station; they had their heads tied up in hankerchiefs or cloths, so that only a small part of the face was exposed. They told him they were determined to die for their religion; and that if they could concert a plan that evening, they would on the next night plunder the station and kill all the Europeans, and then depart whither they pleased. The number he stated to be about three hundred. It was not at the time known to the authorities, but was rendered probable by circumstances afterwards brought to light, that letters and emissaries were being dispatched, at the beginning of February, from the

native troops at Barrackpore to those at other stations, inviting them to rise in revolt against the British."

"Under any other circumstances, a discussion concerning such petty matters as bits of cartridge-paper and items of grease would be simply ridiculous; but at that time and place the ruling authorities, although ignorant of the real extent of the danger, saw clearly that they could not afford to regard such matters as otherwise than serious. There was either a sincere prejudice to be conciliated, or a wide-spread conspiracy to be met; and it was at once determined to test again the sincerity of the sepoys, by yielding to their (apparently) religious feelings on a matter which did not affect the efficiency of the service. A trial was made, therefore, of a mode of loading the rifle without biting the cartridge, by tearing off the end with the left hand. The commander-in-chief, finding on enquiry that this method was sufficiently efficacious, and willing to get rid of mere formalism in the matter, consented that the plan should be adopted both for percussion-muskets and for rifles. This done, the governor-general, by virtue of his supreme command, ordered the adoption of the same system throughout India."

"The authorities, awakened by these events in so many parts of India, sought to inquire whether the native newspaper press of India had fermented the anarchy. It seemed at first ridiculous to suppose that those miserable little sheets, badly written and worse printed, and a small circulation, could have contributed much to the creation of the evil. Yet many facts tended to the support of this view. It was a frequent custom in those papers to disguise the writer's real sentiments under the flimsy mask of a dialogue, in which one side was uniformly made victor. When the government was not actually abused and vilified, it was treated with ridicule, and its motives distorted. There were not many copies of these papers printed and sold; but a kind of ubiquity was afforded to them by the practice of news-mongers or tale-bearers, who went from hut to hut, retailing the various items of news or of comment that had been picked up.

"Indeed, the tendency of the people to listen to attacks against the government is now known to have been very marked among the Hindoos. Predictions of the downfall of rulers were a favourite subject with them. Of course, such predictions would not be openly hazarded in newspapers; but they not less surely reached the ears of the natives. Thirty years ago, Sir John Malcolm spoke on this subject in the following way: 'My attention has been, during the last twenty-five years, particularly directed to this dangerous species of secret war against our authority, which is always carrying on by numerous though unseen hands. The spirit is kept up by letters, by exaggerated reports, and by pretended

prophecies. When the time appears favourable, from the occurrence of misfortune to our arms, from rebellion in our provinces, or from mutiny in our troops, circular-letters and proclamations are dispersed over the country with a celerity almost incredible. Such documents are read with avidity. The contents in most cases are the same. The English are depicted as usurpers of low caste, and as tyrants who have sought India with no other view but that of degrading the inhabitants and of robbing them of their wealth, while they seek to subvert their usages and their religion. The native soldiery are always appealed to, and the advice to them is, in all instances I have met with, the same—"*Your European tyrants are few in number:* kill them!"' This testimony of Malcolm is especially valuable, as illustrating, and illustrated by, recent events.

"The native press of India will come again under notice in a future chapter, connected with the precautionary measures adopted by the governor-general to lessen the power of those news-writers, whether English or native, who shewed a disposition to encourage rebellion by their writings. News and rumours always work most actively among credulous people—an important fact, knowing what we now know of India and its Hindoo inhabitants.

"When General Anson, commander-in-chief of the forces in India, found that the small events at Dumdum, Berhampore, and Barrackpore had grown into great importance, and that the cartridge grievance still appeared to press on the consciences or influence the conduct of the sepoys, he deemed it right to make an effort that should pacify the whole of the native troops. Being at Umballa on the 19th of May, to which place he had hastened from his sojourn at Simla, he issued a general order to the native army, informing the troops that it had never been the intention of the government to force them to use any cartridges which could be objected to, and that they never would be required to do so. He announced his object in publishing the order to be to allay the excitement which had been raised in their minds, at the same time expressing his conviction that there was no cause for this excitement. He had been informed, he said, that some of the sepoys who entertained the strongest attachment and loyalty to the government, and who were ready at any moment to obey its orders, were nevertheless under an impression that their families would believe them to be in some way contaminated by the use of the cartridges used with the Enfield rifles recently introduced in India. He expressed regret that the positive assertions of the government officers, as to the non-existence of the objectionable substances in the grease of the cartridges, had not been credited by the sepoys. He solemnly assured the army, that no interference with their

caste-principles or their religion was ever contemplated; and as solemnly pledged his word and honour that no such interference should ever be attempted. He announced, therefore, that whatever might be the opinions of the government concerning the cartridges, new or old, he had determined that the new rifle-cartridge, and every other of new form, should be discontinued: balled ammunition being made up by each regiment for its own use, by a proper establishment maintained for the purpose."

And the following extract shews the artful means taken to rouse their religious prejudices:

"At a later date than the events narrated in this chapter, but closely connected with them in subject, was the circulation of a report manifestly intended to rouse the religious prejudices of the Hindoos by a false assertion concerning the designs of the ruling powers. In some of the towns of Southern India, far away from Bengal, unknown emissaries circulated a paper, or at least a story, of which the following was the substance: That the padres, probably Christian missionaries, had sent a petition to the Queen of England, complaining of the slowness with which Hindoos were made to become Christians; they adduced the conduct of some of the Mohammedan potentates of India in past times, such as Tippoo Saib, who had compelled the Hindoos to embrace Islamism; and they suggested a similar authoritative policy. The story made the padres give this advice: to mix up bullocks' fat and pigs' fat with the grease employed on the cartridges; in order that, by touching these substances with their teeth or lips, the sepoys might lose caste, and thus induce them to embrace Christianity as their only resource. The climax of the story was reached by making the Queen express her joy at the plan, and her resolve that it should be put in operation. The success of such a lying rumour must, of course, have mainly depended on the ignorance and credulity of the natives."

I have endeavored in a former part of this work to shew what great and good effects might be produced on India by a representation of that country in the British House of Commons, had that been done at the time Joseph Hume brought forward his plan for the Representation of all the Colonies of Great Britain. He at that time proposed four Members to represent the Indies.

With respect to our East India possessions, their perfect security from all the power Russia could send against them, would probably be the first effect produced by this representative system of government.

The native mind of India, has often shewn itself to be susceptible af an intelligent advancement. Her native troops, also, when incorporated with our European forces, have shewn themselves to be good soldiers, which is said to have been the case also, in the present Persian war.

It appears therefore, to me, that when the leading men of the population of India have the advantages and honors of a Representative Government bestowed on them, and that Government the right of Representation in the Imperial Parliament, that this would diffuse a spirit of liberty and attachment to the constitution which should confer these rights upon this immense population, and it would possibly be inspired with sufficient zeal to defend their liberties against any power that Russia could send against them.

The population of India is said to be above 180 millions of people, and it is not to be doubted that the leading and influential men of that vast population would justly and highly estimate the privilege of this Representative Government conferred on them by Great Britain, and would try and probably soon succeed in exciting that population to prepare to defend the boon of constitutional liberty bestowed on them.

It is true that so great has been the abhorence of the British public of the late atrocious cruelties of the Sepoy Army of India in the late outbreak, that the idea of permitting those people to have the boon of Representation in the House of Commons, may appear at first preposterous ; but we know that the higher classes of the native population of India, such as their Kings, Princes, Governors and Nobles, have great and almost universal influence over the great body of their people, therefore by giving those rulers the right of Representation, their ambition of ruling can be satisfied. Perhaps of all Representative Countries, none shews more abundant proof of the great effect of this Representation in enlightening the intellect than the States of America. When that country first acquired Independence as a nation near the year 1773, its population was about three millions, it has now near 23 millions, and although this rapid change and increase may bring upon it causes that

may have a retrograde effect if not guarded against it, it certainly offers a powerful proof of the greater effect of Representative Government, when compared with despotic and unrepresented nations.

We have shewn that the late dreadful outbreaks had most probably their true origin in the desire and attempts of some of the Kings, Princes and Nobles, to recover their lost dominions, and with that design to attempt to persuade their revolting people in the pay of Great Britain, that their religion and castes would be overthrown. Now, if a prospect were given to these dispossessed Indian Kings, Princes and Nobles, of their having some share in the direction and government of their country by Representation in the Imperial Parliament, their ambition would probably take a safer direction.

Now, a new mode of governing India is about being established, but I verily believe if some mode is not adopted to convince that people that it is not the intention of making attempts on their religion, that continued outbreaks will ensue ; and there can be no better mode of convincing them on that subject than by giving their leading men a fair share in the government of their country.

Previous to concluding this work, I shall present to the reader some very important extracts from Blackwood's Magazine, published in Edinburgh, for July, 1857. I consider them important, because they strongly advocate and support the ideas and proposal of my present work on the Representation of the British Colonies in the Imperial Parliament.

From page 114, line 34—" We must look mainly to the state of the settled and cultivated portions of the country of North America, to form anything like a just estimate of its importance, and we hesitate not to say that the recent growth of these Colonies presents a spectacle almost without parallel in the history of the civilized world. We shall for the present confine our observations simply to Canada.

" Canada, says Judge Halliburton, is a country so vast that it is difficult to convey an adequate idea of its size, so fertile, that nothing short of official returns will exonerate a description of it from the charge of exaggeration, so prosperous, as not merely to rival, but surpass most other countries on the face of the earth, so healthy in climate, so

beautiful in scenery, so abundantly supplied with magnificent lakes and rivers, so full of commercial resources, and so rich in minerals, that I am overpowered with the magnitude of the task I have imposed upon myself in attempting to convey an idea of it. As regards its extent, omitting the territories continuous to it, and under British sway, and limiting myself to Canada Proper, it is 1,600 miles long, with an average breadth of 230 miles, being one-third larger than France and Prussia, and nearly three times as large as Great Britain and Ireland. It contains an area of 350,000 square miles, or 240 millions of acres.

"From recent authorities we find that the increase of the population has been most remarkable. Thus, in 1825, the number of inhabitants of Upper Canada was only 158,027, which is not more than the present population of the Scottish County of Perth, and considerably less than that of Cumberland. In 1852, the number had risen 952,004. The valuation of cultivated land for the purpose of local assessment was in currency, £1,854,965 in 1830, and no less £6,393,630 in 1845. This, however, was considered to be greatly under the real value, for we find by the Official Government Return, that the assessable value in 1853, was £49,627,392, an increase seemingly incredible, and yet vouched for by the best authority

"The growth of the towns is equally remarkable.

"Toronto, in 1826, had only 1,677 inhabitants, in 1854 it numbered 40,000. Hamilton within ten years, from 1844 to 1854, quadrupled its population. But it would be endless to cite instances, and appeal to returns as to the growing power of Canada. It is hardly possible to assign any boundaries to its improvement and capability, and when we remember that the population to each square mile is 227 in the United Kingdom, and only five in the Canadian Provinces, it is evident that emigration so far from decreasing must continue at an augmented ratio.

"Here then is a country belonging to ourselves, within easy reach of our ports, and peopled in the most part by ourselves, with a splendid climate, a magnificent soil, immense natural productions, unequalled means of water carriage, and so situated that it may (hereafter) become the highway for the commercial world. According to a high American authority, quoted by Judge Halliburton, the most direct route to the Pacific lies through the British Colonies.* It is worth

* In the year 1829, being in London, I proposed a plan to the East India Company, to open a road through the Canadian Rivers and Lakes to the Columbia River, leading to the Pacific, but as the Company's Charter was then being in part withdrawn from it, the answer given to me was that they were not then prepared for taking up any plan on the subject of my memorial.

while transcribing the language of this witness to the importance of our possessions.

"'The route through British America is in some respects even preferable to that through our own territory. By the former the distance from Europe to Asia is some thousand miles shorter than by the latter. Passing close to Lake Superior, traversing the water shed which divides the streams flowing towards the Arctic Sea, from those which have their exit southward, and crossing the Rocky Mountains at an elevation some thousand feet less than at the South Pass, the road could here be constructed with comparative cheapness, and would open up a region abounding in valuable timber, and other natural products, and admirably suited to grain and to grazing. Having its Atlantic seaport at Halifax, and its Pacific depot near Vancouver's Island, it would inevitably draw to it the commerce of Europe, Asia and the United States. Thus, British America, from a mere colonial dependency, would assume a controlling rank in the world. To her, other nations would be tributary, and in vain would the United States attempt to be her rival, for we never could dispute with her the possession of the Asiatic commerce, or the power which that commerce would confer.'"

So that whether we regard the Canadas and the other North American Celonies simply in the light of territories available for immediate occupation and tillage to those of our countrymen who wisely prefer emigration to straightened circumstances and unremunerative labor at home—or as countries so rapidly increasing in wealth as to become important customers for all kinds of British manufactures—or as containing within themselves the best, easiest and most practicable route between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans—their importance to us, in a national point of view, can hardly be overrated.

Of late years certain politicians, whose notions are more remarkable for recklessness and audacity than for prudence (or true patriotism), have hazarded the assertion, that the permanent prosperity of Britain is in no way bound up with the maintenance of her Colonial Empire. They point to the United States as a notable instance of the advantages to be derived from a severance of the common allegiance, and they aver that our present commercial relation with the States are more than an equivalent for adverse con-

sequences arising out of the great dismemberment. *

Now we think that the true lesson to be derived from this momentous chapter in the history of the anglo saxon race is this—that in dealing with colonies the utmost tenderness and caution on the part of the Imperial Government is required, so that on the one hand there shall not be undue interference with local matters which fall strictly under the cognizance of the provincial chambers; and on the other, that the *colonies should be in some way represented in the High Legislative Assembly of the Realm.*

To an old country like Britain, the soil of which is overstocked, Colonial possessions are absolutely indispensable, as affording a means for providing for a surplus population, which could not be retained at home, and which otherwise might be absorbed by nations whose interests are different from our own. We may see, from many different examples in the United States, how soon the ties of nationality, once severed, are forgotten. But Colonies have a much higher function to perform than that of merely receiving a surplus population.

They ought to be the bulwarks and support of the mother country, making common cause with her in her perplexities and struggles, and supporting her policy.

Colonies which have been acquired by conquest or cession from other nations, in which the bulk of the inhabitants are not of British stock—as, for example, the Cape of Good Hope, or the territories of the East India Company—stand in a very different position from those which have been founded and peopled directly from the British isles. In the one case, allegiance is in a great degree the result of coercion; in the other, it is natural and hereditary. In dealing

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* In answer to this opinion, I beg leave to remark that had Adam Smith's proposal made at that time been adopted by the British Government of having those Colonies represented in parliament, it is probable that they might still be united to the British Empire when their commerce would perhaps have been as great as it is now, and we should not have a rival nation to contend with.

with aliens, it is always necessary to provide against the contingency of rebellion ; not so in the case of those who are members of our own family. Only through hard usage, or studied and disgraceful neglect, will they be tempted to throw off their old allegiance, nor will that ever, under any circumstances of provocation, be attempted without deep regret for the infatuation of the mother who has forced them to so repugnant a course. . . . . Therefore it seems to us that it is the duty as well as the interest of the mother country to take especial care that, through the negligence or inattention of our Government, or their blind adherence to former usages, no cause of real complaint, such as may breed dissatisfaction, shall be given to our North American Colonies ; but that, on the contrary, all their representations, whether emanating from the local legislatures or from private men of influence, authority and experience shall receive minute and careful attention, and be dealt with in a candid, liberal or enlightened spirit.

Now, then, let us enquire what are the special grievances of which Canada and the other American colonies have cause to complain of ? So far back as the year 1838, after the suppression of the disturbances, the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada presented to the Governor a Report embodying the wants and wishes of the loyal portion of the population : that representatives from the Colonies of North America should have seats in the House of Commons in the proportion of two for each of the two Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, respectively, and one each for Newfoundland and Cape Breton. In all, ten from the whole Provinces of British North America. . . . . .

We may here remark, that the idea of Colonial representation is not a new one. During the discussion on the Reform Bill in 1831, a motion was brought forward by the late Joseph Hume, to the effect, that Members would be given to the Colonies ; but party excitement was then too high to admit of the rational

consideration of such subject, and the motion was negatived.*

The demands on the part of the Canadians are not speculative or empirical: they arise from a deliberate impression that by such means only can the Colonies be preserved in permanent dependence upon the British Crown. Their loyalty is beyond all question: in fact there is nothing that they dread so much as a severance of the present tie. But they see clearly enough, that the system of government now pursued is incompatible with their welfare, dignity and position, and must, sooner or later, lead to that consummation which they most earnestly deplore; and therefore it becomes us to listen with respect and attention to the statement of such a man as Mr. Justice Halliburton, who is neither a demagogue, an agitator, nor an alarmist, but a highly intelligent and accomplished gentleman, cognizant of the feelings of his countrymen, and whose ardent wish is, that the Union between Britain and her Colonies should be made so close as to prevent a disruption.

Mr. Hallibarton, then proceeds to grapple with details, and in the first place exposes the fallacy of the statement constantly made by the advocates of the present system, who say to the remonstrating Colonies "you have a responsible Government, you manage your own affairs—what do you complain of? His explanation upon this point is deserving of the most minute and serious attention.

"I will answer this question, and I am happy to do so here among practical, reflecting, thinking men that will understand me when I speak; and first, I say we don't complain, and 2d, we not only don't govern our own affairs, but have no voice in their management and are not even consulted about them. I say we don't complain, and for two short reasons:

* On this subject the Editor of this article is rather mistaken In the former part of this work, I have given an extract of Hume's motion, and of all the speeches made on the subject in the House of Commons, and shewn that all parties agreed that Mr. Hume's motion was a right and proper one, that the Colonies should be represented; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer objected only that the discussion would delay the English Reform Bill, and that therefore the motion should undergo a separate discussion.

1st, we have no body to compiain to, and 2dly, if we had, we have no means of making ourselves be heard. We have been told with much superciliousness by a noble Lord, who had the happy knack of embroiling himself with every Colony in turn; that when we are ripe for independence, and desire it, no objection will be made to it. We are obliged to him for his permission, but assure him that his consent is not required. He cannot retard it, for no one values his opinion. Neither do we govern our own affairs. We manage our local matters, and there our power ends, as I shall show you; but if we don't complain I will tell you what we say: they say that your Eastern and Western Provinces, together with your other foreign possessions contain a population of 100 millions of Colonists,* *and that they are all unrepresented,* that they are all distinct and disjointed, that England in the hour of need, as lately in the Crimea, could draw no assistance in men or money from them, tho' they were able and willing to have contributed both, and we say that when this is the case there is something wrong in the organization of the Empire. We say that in North America, there are five Colonies, *covering a space larger than all Europa,* unconnected among themselves, and unconnected with England, with five separate jurisdictions, five separate tariffs, five different currencies, and five different orders of laws, with no common bond of Union, and no common interest, with no power to prevent the aggression of strangers or of one on the other, no voice in the regulation of their Trade, their intercourse with each other, with foreign powers or with England. That they are often involved in war without their consent, and that Peace is concluded without their concurrence in the Treaties. We say that we are consigned to the control of an office in Downing street, in which there is scarcely a man who ever saw a Colony, who has, however clever he may be and however well disposed (we make no personal remarks—they are all honorable men) yet who has no practical knowledge of us."

Since the publication of Earl Durham's report upon Canada, making a comparison with the United States, so unfavorable to these Provinces, "The lapse of twenty years has effected (as the Edinburg Magazine says) a most enormons change, and Canada is now, both in population and property, advancing in a ratio infinitely more rapid than the States—Let us quote from the last published volume of Allison's History of Europe, the following particulars:

"During the ten years, from 1841 to 51, the United States increased 37 per cent., the slave 27 per cent. and this certainly was a sufficiently large increase for a country number-

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* Say rather 200 millions, there are 180 millions in the East Indias.

ing at the commencement of the period nearly 17 millions of inhabitants; but it was trifling in comparison with the growth of the two Canadas during the same years, the population of which, chiefly in consequence of emigration from the British Islands, increased no less than 59 per cent., while the increase of the Upper Province was 104 per cent. In 1834 the exports from Canada were £1,018,000, her imports £1,063,300, while in 1854 her exports and imports taken together were £13,940,000, of which £4,622,000 was composed of imports from Great Britain; so rapid and sustained a growth is perhaps unexampled in the history of the World. Not less remarkable has been the increase in the Agricultural produce of the Province, which in Upper Canada has quadrupled in ten years preceding 1851, while its Shipping has doubled during the same period, and the consumption of British manufactnres since 1852, when the gold discoveries came into play, is on an average £2 6s. a head for each inhabitant being more than double of what it is in the United States where it is only £1 2s. per head."

In page 123 of the same Magazine, it is said "For example (recurring again to Halliburton's pamphlet,) we find the following enumerated among the Colonial grievances."

"We say, that a whole Province like Prince Edwards Island, was granted away in one day, being first divided into sixty-seven Townships, which were disposed of by Lottery; that the Magdalen Islands, fifty-six miles long, lying directly in the mouth of the St. Lawrence, were some time since granted to an old Admiral and are now in strict entail; Canada having no deputy at the Colonial Office, *and no Member of Parliament to prevent it.*"

"We say that our rights are bartered away without our concurrence and without our knowledge, that recently a Treaty, relative to the Fisheries of Nova Scotia, was entered into with the United States, with no other notice to us, than to choose delegates to attend and advise. The delegates were chosen and were never asked to meet the Commissioners, *and the Treaty was signed without them.* That the people were compelled to submit to, and adopt it by a threat from the Americans that they would punish their refusal by discriminating duties. This was done in such haste, that the fishing limits were left unsettled, and greater confusion and trouble was caused than previously existed."

"When Lord Ashburton ceded more than four millions of the best Timber Land in New Brunswick, together with nearly 150 miles of the St. John, and a right of passage thro' the remainder of the river to the Ocean, (also the best Mail

route to Canada) we think it not unreasonable that the people of the Provinces should have had a voice in the arrangement of the Treaty, or the right and power to call him to account in Parliament. We ask if Canada had had a representative in the House of Commons, or delegates in the Colonial Office, whether Newfoundland would have been permitted to grant as it has done, a monopoly to an American Company for a European line of Telegraph, to her exclusion so that she must now derive her English news from New York, or if Great Britain thinks proper to give a permission of registration to Americans for their Vessels, without any equivalent, whether it is equally right to grant a similar privilege to them in the Colonies without the consent, or in like manner to grant them a Coasting Trade without reciprocity in our ports, whereby our commerce is crippled in a way only intelligible to Merchants."

"For instance, an American Steamer can leave Boston with freight and passengers for St. Johns, New Brunswick, touching at all the intermediate ports of the States; but a Colonial Vessel must proceed direct to her port of destination, nor can she take a freight from any port or place on the Atlantic to California or any other port in the Pacific, because they interpret to be a coasting voyage. I stop not to enquire if this is right or wrong; but it seems to me no more than decent when the rights of others are legislated away in this manner that their concurrence should at least be asked."

The Colonists desire to be represented in Parliament not for the sake of gaining political power, but simply that their voice may be heard upon matters which deeply affect them in the great deliberative and Legislative Assembly, and justice as well as expediency and interest recommend their claim to the earnest consideration of the Country.

Returning now to the present revolt in India, and having given numerous extracts and my own ideas on the causes thereof, we must approve of the conduct of the India Government in declaring to the people, by the proclamation of one of their Generals, that they had not the least design of "converting them by forcible means" to Christianity.

And, indeed, although the Saviour, in the New Testament, gives command to his disciples to go through all the world to propagate this religion; yet in no part does he ordain the use of the sword. Even when he was personally seized by the Jewish rabbies, when one of his disciples prepared to defend him, he

says: "Put up thy sword!" It is, therefore, to be understood by all Christianity, that it is not to be propagated and enforced by the sword. It is a religion of Peace, and is to be defended and propagated by peaceable means alone—by patience and submission to the will and guidance of Providence. Now, for near a century, Missionary Societies, instigated by this command of the Saviour, have gone into various parts to propagate this religion, and especially in India. The success of their endeavors I have not been able to learn the exact amount of; but have been informed it does not probably exceed fifty thousand converts, which, when we consider the vast population of that country, is small indeed, and shews the strong attachment of the great body of the people to the religion they have been born in. The right of one man, indeed—if he feels great faith in his own religion—to endeavor to convert his neighbors to it, is perhaps indisputable,—that is, by means of persuasive argument; but it appears to me evident, that God and nature strongly established religious feelings in the souls of all men for wise purposes, and that although the Christian may strenuously endeavor to diffuse its blessings, it is the wisdom of Providence that is to choose and fix the time for great revolutions in it, by her own dispensations. Thus we are shewn by the scriptures, that the cause of the deluge was, that "Sin and idolatry prevailed over the world." So, in our own reformation, we are told it was produced by corruptions arisen in the churches.

What, then, are the efficient means to counteract these attempts to excite the religious apprehensions of this vast population; and to calm or overawe the aspirations after power of their native Princes and Sovereigns and most influential men? The British Government has told them, by proclamation, they had no design whatever to molest or change their religion, and this has been of no avail to prevent rebellion. Words, then, they will not believe: the only remaining way is action.

They are a people that, before the British conquest of the country, were governed by most despotic means. It is, therefore, reasonable to believe, the

higher classes of that society have still considerable influence over the great body of their people. Give, then, to their influential classes some share in their own government, by due representation in the Imperial Parliament, where they may employ their talents and zeal for the advance of their country. Shew them, that we intend and will govern them by the same constitution and laws we are governed ourselves, and thus divide and conquer them.

Whatever, therefore, may be their religious or political turns of mind, they are still men, and must have the same passions as the rest of mankind; and these will require only sagacity and wisdom to lead them into the right way to secure their prosperity and satisfaction with British freedom and rule.

I conceive, then, that the great elevation this boon of representation would give to the leading Sovereigns, Princes and influential men, in India, must so gratify their ambition and love of rule, that they would not only gladly accept it, but also use their best efforts and iufluence with their countrymen to make it generally acquiesced in. But having conferred this boon of liberty, they must of course be taught to understand, that the laws and penalties of the British Constitution would be irrevocably enforced on them; and, to ensure their obedience thereto, there must be no more sending the European troops to fight in other wars. The number of native troops must be reduced as low as possible, and so incorporated with our own army that no danger of outbreak could be successful; and possibly, also, the British forces for the government of that country must be greatly added to.

Now I have to mention a singular prophecy that was made to myself several years before this revolt in India, by an intelligent man who had resided long in the East Indies; he said that he believed that England could not maintain possession of that Country long; I trust that the prophecy itself will be found erroneous, but it shews this man had formed a true idea of the then state of things there or such a dreadful revolt could not have happened, and considering the natural desire of the human mind to restore itself to possessions it formerly held, we cannot be much

surprised that these Sovereigns should be tempted to avail themselves of the opportunity (a great part of the British army having been sent out of the Country to the Persian War,) to endeavor to regain their former possessions. They no doubt considered the population would be with them in their endeavors or at least they thought that by working on their political and especially their religious feelings and prejudices they could bring them over. In their attempts to do this, they have employed means which to us (who are in a great measure unacquainted with the strong feelings they have for their religion) appear perfectly ridiculous and absurd. (The biting of a greasy cartridge, &c.,) but this only shews the great difference of their state of mind from our own. Such then we may conceive was their attempts to excite the great body of the people. Fortunately we are given to understand by numerous writers they did not succeed in influencing the general mind of the country. But as the army, I mean the *native army*, there can be no doubt they employed far more efficient means. The flattering idea and prospects that in case of a successful rebellion both officers and men would come to enjoy the advantages hitherto conferred on the European army, was too prominent a means of engaging the aid of that native army not to have been actively and it appears efficiently employed. These then I conceive have been the true origin and source of this fatal rebellion.

Now as to the number of Members proposed by Joseph Hume to sit in Parliament for India it was only four, but great accessions of Territory have I believe been made since, and therefore the number may require to be greatly increased. Hume proposed that those members should be elected by those persons who were allowed to sit jurors in their Courts of Law. But considering the late dreadful events, and present condition of that country this mode of election may require a total change, perhaps a safer and surer mode would be to confine the right of voting to the higher classes of men alone, and that right to be subject to extension when the process of representation should be tried and found to answer.

This representation of the People of India in the Hon. House of Commons of Great Britain would of course be on the same terms as for the other British Colonies. On all questions any way connected with the welfare or safety of those Colonies, they would be allowed to speak and vote. On the great question of Peace or War, they may or may not be allowed to vote but allowed to speak and give their opinions as may be hereafter determined in by Parliament. These then are my humble opinions on the most efficient way of securing the peace and prosperity of British India. The glory, and the greater strength of the Empire of Great Britain are involved in this question; and she cannot avail herself and enjoy the intelligence and energies of every part of Her vast Empire without a liberal and justly modified Representation of all Her Colonies in Her own House of Commons.

It may perhaps now be proper to offer my ideas on the subject of quieting the minds of the Indian people on the danger that had been instilled into them on this subject. We have above given abundant extracts from Blackwood's and from Chamber's revolt in India to shew how and when their fears of this danger to their religion were declared, and that they would at the risk of their lives defend that religion, and there can be no doubt the rebellion was engendred by these artifices. Let then the exertions of Missionary Societies proceed if they please in their missions; but it is evident the Government cannot commit itself in this Business without endangering the peace of that Country.

Now it is decidedly my opinion that if we wish, in obedience to the Saviour's direction to spread the Gospel in India, we must first begin by placing its native inhabitants in a position where their minds may be raised above the darkness that pervades them, and to effect this we must first attack and remove the causes that have instilled into the minds of the people those unfounded prejudices and fears for their religion which evidently appear to have caused this rebellion. This I have I trust shewn to have arisen from those who formerly had possession of the country, and who have

no doubt long sought for an opportunity to regain that possession. We must calm the desire for power of their former Kings, Princes or Governors of whatever description, those men of extensive properties and influence among their Countrymen, by placing judiciously in their hands, some share of the Government of their Country by means of some modified representation of it in the Imperial Parliament. This I conceive will be striking at the root of the disease. And not only will their former rulers and present men of influence by their wealth or their talents be thereby gratified in their love of power, but also the very fact of their Country possessing a Representative Government, must infallibly in the course of time enlighten their understandings and infuse into them a just sense of the blessings of a free Representative Government; and I do verily believe that inteligence inseparable from such a Government will be the true way to prepare their minds for the reception of the Christian faith.

Yes, I do believe that this enlightenment of the India mind—by giving it a share of our free government—would be found the most, perhaps the only, effective way of shedding the lights of the Gospel there--thus adopting the peaceful and endearing principles of this religion.

Now it has been often found that, according as the necessities of a country has required them, talents of that peculiar quality have been found to arise. And certainly never was there a time when such quality was required by Great Britain than at the present time. May this great quality be now generated, and may it, with the indomitable energy and wisdom of true genius, proceed to unite every part of the nation by representative power, and by this concentration produce and extend the safety, honor and glory of this mighty Empire.

In a former part of this work, I have said:

"It is possible, however, that before these blessings could be effected, a powerful mind must arise to direct the councils of our nation—a mind superior to the ruling fancies or passions of the day, and whose breast is animated with the feelings of humanity, love of

peace and philanthropy, worthy of the nineteenth century. A mind of this description might, by concentrating all the forces of this mighty Empire, give to its people and to mankind a secure and permanent Peace. And it is possible that the present condition of Old England may yet generate such a mind, and I trust and hope all loyal people of these Provinces will not neglect the opportunity that may shortly offer itself to secure the elevation of their country and its comparative Independence by representation in the Imperial Parliament; and I, moreover, believe it will be the duty of the Imperial Government to watch over the entire integrity, security and consolidation of the energies of every part of its vast Empire, by a general though modified representation of it in the Imperial Parliament.

Some persons with whom I have conversed on this subject of federal union, agreed it would, in the present state of these Provinces, be a valuable thing, but did not appear to approve of their being represented by deputation to the House of Commons; they have taken up the idea that, if the Imperial Government agreed to that, they would expect to have the right of imposing the taxes for the revenue on the Provinces. Now, by referring to page 31 of this work, they will find "that it was stated by Hume—the mover of the resolution for representing the Colonies—that, by the statute of 18th Geo. 3, chap. 12, the British Legislature was prevented from interfering with the internal affairs of the Colonies, which contained local Legislatures," but they have the right to regulate their foreign commerce.

And they will find by the plan of representation in the House of Commons advocated in my work, that we claim for our own Legislatures the sole right of levying the taxes for the Colonial revenues, and we therefore do not claim the right to tax the people of Great Britain. This, therefore, prevents all objections on the part of the Imperial Parliament to grant us this modified representation in their Commons, by which means they would merely confer on the Colonies the same independence now possessed by their subjects in

Great Britain without interference with that of England.

In a former part of this work, I had stated, in a note, that I had memorized the East India Company in London, about the years 1830 or 1834, on the subject of the most practical route to the East Indies lying through the Canadas; and I have now, also, the great satisfaction to find that a Company is now forming in England for this very purpose. If, then, this is to be accomplished, it will make Canada one of the great centres of the world's commerce, and the amount of capital and settlement it may bring out here is perhaps inconceivable. And as I trust I have shewn, in the course of this work, that, even at present, owing to the advancing state of our progress, we have even now a just and fair claim to some kind of representation in the Imperial Parliament, what must our right and claim be for the great future most probably awaiting these Colonies?

I wish to notice a work published here, which obtained one of the prizes given by the Canadian government. It is written by Mr. Murrison, is I consider an honor to himself and the province, and I am well pleased to find he approves of the plan of Federal Union of all the colonies by representation in the Imperial House of Commons, which as I have shewn above I have proposed and supported for the last 20 years by several publications.

Mr. J. C. Taché has also published a pamphlet on the Federal Union of the British North American Provinces. In this work he seems to point tolerably well and diffusely to the advantages of a Federal Union of all these colonies; but, I was much surprised on reading his observations of Judge Halliburton's plan of representation of the colonies in the Imperial House of Commons; he, Mr. Taché, appears to consider that plan perfectly impracticable. Now, in 1854, I published Joseph Hume's plan brought by him before the House of Commons at the time of the passing the English Reform Bill, when all parties in the House unanimously agreed that the colonies ought to be represented in the House of Commons. Mr. Taché appears also to have overlooked one great

advantage and high honor and elevation of position which would accrue to these provinces by their representation in the Imperial House of Commons. For, by a *mere Federal Union of the Provinces*, that is, without representation in the House of Commons of Great Britain of these provinces, they would still remain in the condition of colonies to her; whereas, by a representation by deputies from the various Provincial Legislature, they the colonies would acquire an *equal independence with Great Britain herself.* I hold it therefore that every loyal and intelligent Canadian would justly endeavor to obtain this great honor and elevation for his country and may well be proud of the boon. The colonial interests could not fail to be well supported by their representatives required, for no less than 40 colonies when seated in the Hon. House of Commons of this great empire.

Having after months of exertion endeavored to effect the publication of this work, and having only now been able to accomplish it, I have in this respect only to observe it may possibly be favourable to the sale of the work, for since the manuscript has been finished, the plan of Federal Union of these Provinces and of their Representation in the Imperial House of Commons has not only been supported by several writers as shewn in the notes, but I have at last the great satisfaction to find that the Governor General in his closing speech to the Legislature, has declared his intention to open a communication with the Imperial Government and the other North American Colonies on the subject of this Federal Union, and three members of the government have now arrived in London for that purpose and commenced operations thereon. And I sincerely hope the high and important object of such a Federal Union as will confer on these Provinces, the honors of the same independence enjoyed by our fellow subject in Great Britain, will be obtained.

Although—as I have said above—there are hopes that the sun is not yet to set on the British empire, yet, by the most recent accounts from India, the rebellion there appears to be by no means over. One letter, I believe, from Calcutta, says, the rebellion in

central India is only commencing, and in other parts rebel forces still are roaming through the country. Now, there is also one very mysterious circumstance in this rebellion. That arch criminal, Nena Sahib—who is charged with destroying so many of our women and children—has not been captured. His troops, indeed, have been often defeated. But the British forces in India cannot be less than 80,000 or 90,000 men, and it certainly would appear to indicate some great capacity in that man so long to have escaped the vigilance which we must suppose has been employed to arrest him by so large a force. There is yet another circumstance in this rebellion to be noticed. The Affghans, who destroyed so many of our troops at Caboul, have, I believe, not yet appeared in this Indian war; and I must here beg leave to mention a singular anecdote regarding that Caboul destructive retreat. When I was a boy, living at Quebec—my native city—there were the 44th and 31st regiments in garrison there. One of these regiments was almost entirely destroyed on the retreat from Caboul, and the other of these regiments was afterwards employed in revenging the deaths of their comrades. The Mahrattas are also a great power that might come against us. Moreover, it would appear, by some accounts from India, that the great masses of the people have not as yet risen against the British Government; but while that Government is aware, by sad experience, how the prejudices and religious feelings of that people can be excited by the leading men there, it appears to me to be incumbent on our Government to take every possible means to frustrate such intentions; and I believe the most effective one will be found by leading the hostile designs and ambition of those leading men into another direction, by giving them—as I have attempted to shew in this work—a share in the representation of their own in our free and representative country.